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INSTRUMENT AND PURPOSE

Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India

BY

CARL GUSTAV DIEHL



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LUND
HÅKAN OHLSSONS BOKTRYCKERI
1956

To

AGNES

my wife

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FOREWORD

This study began more than twenty years ago, when my work in India gave me opportunities of studying popular Hinduism at close range. Before that my interest in different manifestations of religious life was aroused during my studies as a young student under professor Edvard Lehmann. I am deeply grateful to all my teachers under whom I have studied successively: professor Edvard Lehmann, professor Efraim Briem, preceptor Carl-Martin Edsman and professor Erland Ehnmark. Preceptor Edsmann guided my studies for higher degrees and encouraged me to carry on the investigation of rituals in South India. I am very grateful to him for that. Professor Ehnmark is, however, the teacher who has been more closely connected with the work of bringing this investigation to a completion. I owe professor Ehnmark a very great debt of gratitude for his keen and patient interest in my work, which he has followed almost day by day with constructive criticism and inspiring guidance.

It has been a rare privilege to work in the library of professor Martin P. Nilsson, where the institution for comparative religion is now housed. Its stimulating atmosphere has materialized in frequent visits of the learned scholar himself. Professor Nilsson was also kind enough to read parts of my manuscript, for which I pay him my grateful respects.

Docent Olof Pettersson has been of great help to me in going through the manuscript and presenting well founded criticism, particularly concerning principles and terms. My missionary colleague, the Rev. Bror Tiliander, Ph. lic., has done me a very good service in scrutinizing the book and in reading proofs. His long experience of South India has been of the greatest value. — I

thank doctor Wilhelm Norlind for valuable suggestions regarding astrology and docent Gösta Liebert for good advice on transliteration of Sanskrit words.

In addition I am indebted to a great many friends and well-wishers in Europe and in India. I remember with gratitude all informants who have patiently listened to my questions and readily explained what they knew of the rituals. Messrs Devasigamani Paṭṭar and his two sons, Śrī D. Daksinamurtti and Śrī D. Somasubramanyar, all in active service as temple "priests", together with Pandit M. S. Nagasundara Sarma have very kindly gone through the chapter on temple ritual with great care, suggested revision of the text here and there and added information from their own experience of the cult. Obviously the value of the presentation of the ritual is thereby much increased, and they deserve real praise for their kindness and labour.

The University of Lund gave me a travelling scholarship whereby I could complement references in the libraries of Paris and London and also meet some continental indologists. Professor J. Gonda of Utrecht very kindly spent several hours pointing out less common literature of value for the subject. I beg to thank him here most heartily. Similar kindness was shown to me by professor P. Meile, Paris and by doctor L. Dumont, Paris, with whom I had some hours of a very stimulating discussion.

Librarians of the University Library, Madras, of the Tamil Sangam Library, Mathurai, of the University libraries at Lund and at Uppsala, and of the libraries of L'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and of Musée Guimet in Paris, and of the British Museum Library, of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies and the India Office library in London have all given me every possible assistance, and I beg to express my gratitude in this way.

Indirectly the Church of Sweden Mission and the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church are my chief benefactors, because I have been allowed to serve in their work in South India. If not, this book would never have been written.

My wife and my two daughters have helped me very much in

making the manuscript ready for the press and in preparing the indices.

It remains to thank Miss D. Ham and Miss G. Mellin of Walton on Thames, who very kindly read the manuscript and corrected my English. I beg to express to them my deep gratitude, so much more as the book has unavoidably become comparatively big to hold necessary descriptive accounts of unpublished or inaccessible material.

Lund, the Tranquebar Jubilee Year 1956.

Carl Gustav Diehl.

REMARKS ON TRANSLITERATION

Tamil words are transliterated according to the system adopted by the Tamil lexicon, Sanskrit words as they are rendered in Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II:2.

Words appearing in Tamil texts are treated as Tamil regardless of their origin. Even pure Sanskrit terms will be thus treated.

Names of persons and geographical names will not be transliterated but written in an anglicized form, and similarly some other words, which have got a conventional form in English texts like Avatar, Sloka, Devastanam, Subramanyan, Hanuman, Linga etc.

As far as technical terms are concerned the Sanskrit equivalent is as a rule given within brackets or in the notes.

From these general principles the following deviations have been found unavoidable or convenient.

In a great many cases the Sanskrit form (note especially Śiva and Mudrā) has been used in Sanskrit transliteration for the following reasons: 1. The texts often, sometimes always, have the Sanskrit form written in Tamil characters and thus present the words in a shape which is not found in Tamil dictionaries. 2. The reader will recognize the terms more easily.

As a consequence Tamil and Sanskrit renderings will be intermingled, which at first glance may seem confusing. The inconvenience is alleviated by an index with cross references and Sanskrit words italicized. Simplicity has been the leading principle rather than absolute consistency.

A few words have been allowed to keep the form they have in the texts although the spelling is different from that of the Tamil Lexicon. The word for festival, for example, Skt. Utsava is rendered by the Tamil Lexicon Uṟcavam, whereas it in most texts appears as Utsavam. This form has been kept, because it comes much closer to the Sanskrit original. — The Tamil language only rarely permits

two consonants to come together and thus renders Skt. Arghya as Arukkiyam, Skt. Pavitra as Pavittiram etc. The usage is, however, not fixed, and the dictionaries offer Arkkiyam as well as Arukkiyam and sometimes Nityam as well as Nittiyam. There seems to be no need to follow the spelling of the dictionaries rigorously, and so Pavitram has been allowed to stand in some places. — In spelling Sanskrit words in Tamil the recognized use of some Sanskrit characters like ṣ, s, kṣ, j and h should not be forgotten. There is no reason why Skt. Sthālī should not be written Stāli in Tamil, so much less as the dictionary's rendering Tāli becomes indistinguishable from another Tāli with a different meaning altogether. Similarly it should be perfectly permissible to write Stalapurāṇam for Skt. Sthalapurāṇa. In quotations from books written in English the original renderings of Indian words have sometimes been allowed to stand.

To avoid misunderstanding the reader may kindly note that the Tamil language reserves masculine and feminine genders to gods and men. All other nouns are neuter. In difference from Sanskrit the Tamil nouns are generally transliterated with their endings.

It is also good to note that c in the transliteration of Tamil words stands for Skt. c, ś, s, and ṣ when preceded by ṭ.

All Tamil and Sanskrit words have been translated or explained at least once. For easy reference the numbers of those pages are printed in italics in the register.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Rites belong to the realm of religion and magic, but those two words will purposely be kept in the background. Once introduced they will prejudice our minds and enforce a distinction, which has the double fault of being at the same time too vague and too exclusive. While the difficulties in finding a clear cut formula separating magic from religion seem to be ever growing, the stigma of low valuation seems to be inextricable from magic.[1] In that latter sense the distinction is too exclusive, because what is commonly taken to be the characteristics of magic is to a large extent also found in ceremonies which generally come under the name of religion and need in no way have a detrimental effect on man's behaviour, seen from any angle.

One might argue that the term magic can be defined from a strictly scientific point of view and thus freed from all valuation, but since the word is a passing term with a complex meaning, it

[1] "... one of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind, the belief in Magic". Tylor, Primitive Culture, 112. Efforts to clear religion from an unhealthy association with magic as a dubious partner or rival are evident or implied in many works. Rivers gives to religion a place alongside medicine but keeps silent about any possible role, which magic could play (Medicine, Magic and Religion, 115). The representatives of the "Zaubertheorie" (Jensen, Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern, 251 ff.) from Frazer onward take the same attitude. Magic belongs to an undeveloped, backward or degenerate stage. Söderblom says: Magic denies and destroys the feelings of devotion and reverence which uplift the soul of man ..." (The living God, 36). A sense of incompatibility marks the distinction made between religion and magic, and it results often enough in a devaluation of the latter. This is the fundamental presupposition behind Allier's treatment of the subject (Magie et Religion, VII). Cp. particularly 87. "... la religion peut descendre dans la magie".

will not remain intact. Moreover, it is the very task of finding a correct definition that is embarassingly difficult. The difficulty is not only evident from the variety of definitions available in different books but also demonstrable in many cases with quotations from the same book.[1]

Defining magic as such is often less tempting than finding a demarcation line between magic and religion[2], and it is here the difficulties appear to be despairingly great. This is borne out by the fact that nearly every writer on a subject relating to history of religion, ethnography or sociology finds it necessary or at least advisable to offer a definition of his own. In any case the discussion will compel one to accept or refute, as the case may be, the one definition or the other.

There are from a logical point of view three aspects on the relationship between religion and magic:

1. Magic and religion are essentially the same thing. Many objections have been raised against the attempts made to separate magic and religion as different stages in the history of mankind.[3] In spite of an overwhelming criticism of Frazer's theory from Marett onwards[4] the discussion has been going on and is apparently not yet ended.[5] — Some writers on ethnography refuse to recognize

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[1] Beth's book Religion und Magie devoted to the very subject of magic and religion may serve as an illustration. One reads on page 125: "... während auf den zwischen Magie und Religion liegenden tiefgreifenden spezifischen Unterschied, der im Gefühlswerte und in der Empfindungsweise seine Wurzel hat und einfach Umbiegung der Magie in Religion nicht zulässt ..." and on page 127: "Die menschliche Psyche ist anscheinend von Natur so veranlagt, dass sie nach der magischen wie nach der religiösen Haltung neigt. Ja, diese doppelte Neigung ist so stark und beharrlich durch die Geschichte hin, dass man getrost die Frage aufwerfen möchte, ob denn überhaupt eine völlige Trennung beider richtig sei". In defining magic and religion a distinction is made in theory and admirably carried out, but in practice it seems to be non-existent, since it is doubtful, if magic and religion can ever be separated, which must imply that they are from another point of view to be defined as of one and the same kind.

[2] "Neuf fois sur dix, au moins, on la définit par son rapport avec la religion". (Allier, Magie, 3).

[3] Frazer, The Golden Bough, I, 233 ff. Söderblom, Das Werden des Gottesglaubens, 215 ff.

[4] Marett, Psychology and Folklore, 168 ff. Lowie, Primitive Religion, 144. Widengren, Religionens värld, 15.

[5] Jensen, Mythos und Kult, 262 reviews the opinion of Ratschow as

a distinction between religion and magic among "primitive" people but admit that there is a difference at other stages of development.[1] This is implied when A. Lehmann accepts the possibility of a time when the necessary opposites to magic, namely science and established religion, were not existing.[2] — The final step is taken by some others of a psychological tendency, who refute any distinction in kind between religion and magic. A. Esker̈öd in joining them declares the difference between religion and magic to be a matter of ethical choice. Partly avoiding the issue Esker̈öd takes religion and magic together as supernormal tradition.[3] W. Goode says more cautiously: "... a deeper level of social analysis may be reached, at which this distinction (between magic and religion) becomes a side issue".[4] Already Durkheim was talking the same language and asked if magic and religion at all should be separated. He found a reason for doing so in the enmity between them.[5] — The examples suffice to show a tendency to treat religion and magic as fundamentally of the same kind.

2. Magic and religion are entirely incommensurable, both being exclusively sui generis. This is maintained by S. Mowinckel who says that magic has nothing to do with religion by itself. It does not preceed it, nor does it represent religion in a debased form.[6] Magic is an aspect of life, "eine Weltanschauung".[7] It is entirely different

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follows: "... fast auch Ratschow alle religiösen Äusserungen der 'vor- und aussergeschichtlichen Völker' unter der Bezeichnung Magie zusammen und will diesen Bereich zeitlich getrennt wissen von dem der Religionen, die erst in späteren Kulturen auftreten und im wesentlichen in den gestifteten Religionen fassbar sind. Es wäre hier also wieder ein zeitliches Nacheinander von Magie und Religion festgestellt, wobei — ähnlich wie bei der Zaubertheoretikern — wohl auch eine allmähliche Entwicklung der Religion aus der Stufe der Magie gedacht ist".

[1] See Ratschow, Magie und Religion, 88.

[2] Lehmann, Aberglaube und Zauberei, 9 (2:nd ed. in Danish, no change).

[3] Eskeröd, Årets äring, 50 and 355 (English summary) with reference to H. Harmjanz and L. Weiser-Aall.

[4] Goode, Magic and Religion, 182.

[5] Durkheim: Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse, 59—61. The distinction is summed up in the pointed statement: "Il n'existe pas d'Eglise magique". The distinction is thus based on the degree of sociability of the adherents and not on differences inherent in the phenomena themselves.

[6] Mowinckel, Religion und Kultus, 15.

[7] Op. cit. 15.

from religion, and there is no basis for a comparison between the two.[1] Leaving alone the question whether Mowinckel's definition of magic and religion is acceptable or not — religion=pietas and awe, magic= primitive science[2] — in this connection it is enough to note that Mowinckel considers them to be exclusive of one another.[3] A similar view is taken by L. Chochod.[4] — In spite of this radical bifurcation the practical difficulty of recognizing the one or the other in real life remains.

3. Religion and magic cover much common ground but can be distinguished in their relation to other factors such as society or the attitude of the individual, or a distinction is made in the supernatural factor between personal beings and power or in the purpose.[5]

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[1] "... nicht mit einander vergleichbar" (op. cit. 27).

[2] Op. cit. 15 and 27.

[3] This does not prevent him from finding points of contact (op. cit. 28).

[4] Chochod, Histoire de la Magie, 5: "Différentes, quant a leur origine, à leur objet et à leur nature".

[5] From the vast bulk of literature a few examples are chosen as representative illustrations only. In their endeavours to define magic, or more particularly to distinguish it from religion, scholars generally cling to one or more of the following points:

1. *The attitude of man.* Religion represents a submissive mind, magic an overbearing, selfasserting attitude, Söderblom, The Living God, 32 ff. — It is submission versus control, Goldenweiser, Anthropology, 218. — A religious man treats the supernatural as subject, a magician treats it as object, Wetter, Religion och magi, Bibelforskaren, 323. — Magic is forcing the numen, religion is submission, Wach, Sociology of Religion, 361. "... Unterschied, der im Gefühlswerte und in der Empfindungsweise seine Wurzel hat", Beth, Religion und Magie, 125. Two wholly different psychological reactions, Widengren, Religionens värld, 15. — Somewhat similarly, Lowie, Primitive Religion, 147, but Lowie does not accept any absolute distinction. They are two distinct compartments of one large whole, supernaturalism. — "Das Wesen der Magie ist bekanntlich Zwang", Radin, Gott und Mensch in der primitiven Welt, 99, Jensen finds real magic in "seelischen Fähigkeiten", Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern, 406.

2. *Relation to society.* Religion is a matter for society, the church, magic is the affair of an individual, Durkheim, Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse, 65. — Organized cult versus individual practice, Hubert et Mauss, Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, 19. — "It is the unofficial practitioner, who is the witch", Lang, Magic and Religion, 47. — The importance of the magician is stressed by Allier, Magie et Religion, 51, who also styles magic as amoral, op. cit. 96. — Similarly Held, Magie, Hekserij en Toverij, 197, In magic the individual is in the fore front.

In all theses cases the emphasis has been moved from the phenomena themselves.

The present study may indirectly in its own way and within the scope of the material used[1] add light to the vexed problem of the relationship between magic and religion. It is but right that every investigation of phenomena, commonly called magic, should be a contribution to conceptual clarity, and a definition of the term is not ready until all relevant material has been scrutinized. To bear this in mind is to render justice to the numberless definitions of magic that have appeared. The example of Sir James Frazer will serve as an illustration. In the words of A. Goldenweiser The Golden

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3. *The instrument.* "Magic: a technique that is supposed to achieve its purpose by the use of medicines" Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, 9. "If they are used as mere tools, as a specific type of device, for attaining certain ends, then we are dealing with magic ...", Lowie, op. cit. 136.

4. *Purpose.* Nearness or unity with the divine is religion, goals in life are envisaged by magic, Beth, Religion und Magie, 128. Cp. also Konow, Das Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, 5, where rites are recognized as of Atharvan origin, because "sie zur Anwendung kamen um bestimmte Zwecke zu erreichen", which again makes the book a "Handbuch der Zauberei". So also Caland, Altindische Zauberei, III. — Means to an end, that is magic, an end in itself represents religion, Malinowski, Magic, science and Religion, 20—21. — "As a practice magic is the utilization of this power for public or private ends ...", Webster, Magic, 55. In a peculiar sense the word magic is used by Stella Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, 14. "Magic consists of actions expressive of a will for reality".

5. *The additional factor.* Personal beings of a mood versus powers calculable, Frazer, The Golden Bough, I, 224. Similarly Karsten, The Origins of Religion, 205. — Recognition of a transcendental order versus no transcendental reference to external supramundane powers, James, Comparative Religion, 49. — "Was sich auf die Macht ohne Namen richtet ist Magie". van der Leeuw, Phänomenologie der Religion, 141. No change in the latest edition, La Religion dans son essence et ses manifestations, 154. — Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion, I, sec. ed. 51, follows Frazer with some reservation. Magic is a way of directing the power with no conception of a will. — Religion is belief in some power in the universe greater than that of man himself, Rivers, Medicine, Magic and Religion, 4. — Magic is occult science, Marett, The Threshhold of Religion 55. Reference to occult power, Webster, Magic, 55, "Force occulte", Allier, Magie et Religion, 39. "Eine zwingende Macht (Magic) — die Stimmung der Götter zu beeinflussen (Religion)", Lehmann, Aberglaube und Zauberei, 11.

[1] See below 42.

Bough is neglible as theory, indispensable as a collection of material on primitive religion.[1] R. Lowie's criticism is as severe as that of Goldenweiser but with the all important exception that it recognizes the merit of Frazer's theory: "Frazer's theory has the merit of throwing into relief two divergent primitive attitudes"[2]. Moreover, Frazer's terminology of sympathetic magic is tacitly accepted[3], which shows that his contribution to a definition of magic — apart from the discussion he has stimulated — can not be as neglible as it was said to be.

Or to take another example: In a given society the majority's opinion — let alone the ground on which it is founded — may decide what is religion and what is magic. This statement based on the theory of Durkheim is probably correct. But in as much as the same technique is used both in religion and magic thus defined, one may from another point of view ask if this has any bearing on the phenomena as such.

Both critics and followers might err in making just one term serve as a full explanation.

The use of the terms magic and religion in relationship to each other is permissible, provided a reference is made to a clear definition, whether it is one's own or given by somebody else.[4] There is, however, hardly any definition that covers the whole field[5], and so the terminology very easily becomes confusing. It is especially so when the word is used both as a noun and as an adjective. If one has like K. Beth laid the distinction between magic and religion in the attitude or disposition of mind[6], expressions like magic rites or magic procedure are inadequate because a rite cannot, in fact, be

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[1] Goldenweiser, Anthropology, 531.

[2] Lowie, Primitive Religion, 139.

[3] Lowie, op. cit. 146.

[4] Pettersson, Chiefs and Gods, 311.

[5] Webster, Magic, 55, has a definition covering 17 lines, but there is hardly any reference to the attitude of mind. The vagueness of any definition is implied in these words: "The range of magic is thus almost as wide as the life of man". — Exception is taken to the sweeping statement made by Bros, Histoire des religions, I, 120: "En réalité parmi les rites nécessitants, les uns ont cour dans la religion, les autres que l'on nomme magiques sont exercés en dehors de la religion, ou contre elle. La religion tend à la prière et au sacrifice, la magie s'oriente vers le maléfice et l'incantation".

[6] Beth, Religion und Magie, 125.

qualified with reference to an attitude of mind, although this is very often the ground chosen for a distinction between religion and magic. If one, on the other hand, on the basis of another definition describes rites or acts as magical, because they are of an instrumental character or have a specific goal, there will be no clear conception of magic as a noun. A great many things can be qualified as either religious or magical, but there is no room for a phenomenon that could be called magic as such.

"If the things are envisaged distinctly, the words may be trusted to look after themselves", says Mr. Marett.[1] Following his advice is all right, if the material can be brought in order without technical terms, and if the result is yielding a clear picture of the situation so as to make it easy to decide whether the terms can be applied or not.

William J. Goode maintains that conceptual clarity has been achieved with regard to the distinction between magic and religion and gives a list of characteristics of similarity and distinction, between which, however, no sharp line can be drawn.[2] With the aid of the "polar ideal type concept" magic and religion can be distinguished, he says. A phenomenon will never be entirely true either to the religious ideal type or to the pure concept of magic, but there will be conceptual distinction, and any phenomenon will be approaching the one or the other and thus be classified as (mainly) religious or magic. When Goode speaks of "the use of a theoretical tool, the polar ideal type concept"[3] with reference to J. Parsons[4] he is in line with a similar analysis made by Alf Nyman.[5] The polar ideal type concept is a kind of "culture pure", an expression brought into use by Hans Larsson and taken up by Nyman. A feature or characteristic is isolated and thus an ideal created, which adds to the clarity of conception but never exists empirically. What is gained in clarity is often lost in regard to factual truth. This is, however, a procedure followed in all branches of science.[6] The ideal

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[1] ERE sub Magic, Introductory, VIII, 247.

[2] Goode, Magic and Religion, 172 and 176. Also in Religion among the primitives, 50 ff.

[3] Goode, op. cit. 176.

[4] Parsons, Structure of social action, 601.

[5] Nyman, Concepts-limites et 'culture pure' dans l'étude des lettres, 99.

[6] Nyman, op. cit. 108 and 113.

or pure type will never be found in reality, but it is a necessary construction or projection in order to get a hold of it. In a sense this corresponds with what can strictly be called 'structure studies'[1] and 'Motivforschung', neither of which can be dispensed with in favour of a comprehensive study of e.g. a local tradition. Without a leading thought or a sifting principle not even a survey or a comprehensive description can be made.[2] There must be balance, perhaps an arbitrary one, between one-sidedness and contourless description.

The situation before us is this. We can isolate certain features and make a theoretical distinction between religion and magic, but we shall never find them in real life in that pure shape. And so we are still prone to ask if the attempt to separate them is worth while. Perhaps in real life magic and religion are so overlapping as to make a separation unjustified or simply impossible. They may even be essentially one so that any distinction between them becomes artificial and misleading. Or, one may even go to the extent of asking if the two words magic and religion have any sense as far as an interrelationship is concerned. They may have been used arbitrarily as mere names of now this phenomenon, now that.[3]

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[1] "Man kann sie beschreiben als die Einzeichnung eines Grundrisses in das chaotische Liniengewirre der sog. Wirklichkeit. Dieser Grundriss heisst Struktur ... Die Struktur ist sinnvoll gegliederte Wirklichkeit". van der Leeuw, Phänomenologie der Religion, 636. Cp. Holm, Religionshistoriske Grundbegreber, 71.

[2] The demand on full data concerning a tradition or a custom raised in ethnographic writings (Lowie, Boas, von Sydow) (e.g. von Sydow, Religionsforskning och folktradition) cannot stand in opposition to working principles. The expression 'full data' must mean a sufficiently large number of facts to allow a full view of the material from all sides. A demand for *all* data would result in a mass of notices, which nobody would be able to take note of. Even now the danger of science getting drowned in an ocean of material is obvious.

[3] It may be remarked that no attempt has been made to distinguish between magic and sorcery. From the point of view of usage in English language it is hardly feasible. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines sorcerer as "user of magic arts" and magic as "the pretended art of influencing course of events by occult control of nature or of spirits" (Oxford, 1951 s.v.) — Magic is the comprehensive word. — As another evidence may be quoted the following lines from Material toward a history of Witchcraft, collected by Lea and edited by Howland, vol. I, XXV: "Strictly speaking, the term magic must be held to comprehend all manifestations of the control which

If rites are not qualified as either religious or magic, the combined realm of the two entities might still be accepted as their "home". The boundary lines are, however, wavering also between magico-religious phenomena and other things. There are acts and performances which in the opinion of some people belong to medicine while others treat them as magic etc.

While the effort to locate the rites is legitimate and necessary, needless to say the attempt to define them clearly must have priority.[1] Looking for a starting point one will in the first place qualify rites as human actions. As human they have reference to man and are either expressive or implicative, just as taking a walk may be the expression of an innate need of exercise, whereas walking to the office will imply the use of a faculty for a definite purpose. Rites as the language of gestures can serve as an outlet of feelings, and they are always to some extent expressive of the life of an individual or society or of the individual's experience of social life.[2]

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men have in every age assumed to possess over supernatural forces. The Magician, the Brāhman, the Pythoness, the Augur, the Catholic priest and the modern spiritualist are thus magicians, equally with the Astrologer, the Necromancer, the Witch, the Sorcerer, the Gypsy, the Kaffir priest, the Indian Medicine man". — The statement is here quoted only with the view of elucidating the English usage.

For comparison mention may be made of Freud's distinction between sorcery and magic. "Sorcery is essentially the art of influencing spirits by treating them like people". "Magic ... does not essentially concern itself with spirits, and uses special means, not the ordinary psychological method". (The basic writings of Sigmund Freud, 867—68).

The "ordinary psychological method" will be equal to direct address; "Will you please come". "If you come, you will receive this". "Unless you come you will be illtreated" etc. (Cp. Freud, op. cit. 867). — We are here dealing with instruments, which are eo ipso indirect methods and accordingly we have no business with what is by Freud called sorcery, but the point is that the indirect method is used with spirits as well as with that something, which Freud leaves out of the picture when he stops at saying that magic does not concern itself with spirits.

[1] Hartland explains the rite as created by a habitual release of emotional tensions (Ritual and Belief, 117). Van der Leeuw says with reference to "Rites de passage": "Statt Ereignisse oder Erlebnisse nennen wir den Inhalt des Lebens also besser 'Begehungen'." (Phänomenologie der Religion, 175). Without further references to literature essential characteristics of a rite will be presented on the following pages.

[2] Cp. to this Held, Magie, 172 ff.

Rites are, on the other hand, predominantly means of contact. Something is implied in a rite, and a term that covers this aspect is the word instrument. It keeps in view the rite itself. It may or may not be a distinguishing mark as far as magic and religion are concerned, perhaps rather a unifying factor. Once phenomena are qualified as instruments, they will have to be treated alike as far as this qualification holds good. Moreover, if the phenomena are looked at from the point of view of their instrumental character, the problem of religion and magic need not be anticipated in attempts of definition.

On a few pages we shall expand on this in order to have a clear view of the problem set before us. Our first concern is to understand the meaning of the word "instrument", and with that in view we shall take as our starting point the mental attitude of the performers of rites.

The mind will certainly react in different ways whereby various types of reaction can be distinguished.[1] Many agree in calling an attitude of trust and submission to the will of a personal god the religious attitude, whereas the magician is made the overbearing, selfcentred man with lust for power in order to stand as a typical specimen of the attitude qualified as belonging to magic.[2] — Here a note of caution is necessary. This is not the whole truth about the magician. First of all the priest and the magician are sometimes combined in the same person.[3] Instances from South India will further show that men, who would probably pass as magicians in common language, are subordinate to their deities — the expression corresponds partly to the Iṣṭa-devatā[4] and means gods whom they have chosen to serve — and also to their Gurus, and that they must handle their "instruments" carefully and hold themselves in check. They will always have their room of worship. — But, moreover, magic is not limited to performances of experts.

The general public may take to the practice defined on the assumption of a self-asserting attitude of control. The particular attitude should be found everywhere with the public. — The

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[1] Wach, Sociology of Religion, 361, Söderblom, The living God, 36, Widengren, Religionens värld, 15.

[2] See particularly Söderblom, The living God, 36.

[3] Goode, Magic and Religion, 175.

[4] Monier-Williams, Brāhmanism and Hindūism, XIV and 370.

definition of magic as attitude, moreover, should cover the clientele as well, which will widen the horizon considerably. It must qualify also the man who believes in magic, e.g. to the extent that he puts his confidence of getting a job in a piece of cotton given him by the magician as an assurance of the successful outcome of the magic rite. And having come so far one may find the nomenclature even more misleading. A fundamental difference in attitude may still be fixed in theory, but it is not certain that the terms religion and magic with the connotations they commonly have, suit the types in real life. As far as South India is concerned one will have great difficulties in trying to find rites of any kind performed with complete lack of submissive attitude.

It will be more correct to speak of a general background to all ceremonies and rites, namely an attitude of expectancy, characterized by trust, hope, longing or desire, often tempered with fear and anxiety. This will bear the hall mark of religious attitude in that it will almost always express itself in some sort of prayer. The heart's desire is at least brought forward as a silent wish. Man is conscious of his position and his mind is projected forward with expectancy. — Sometimes his emotions will find no words, not even silent words. A mystic may not know what he is craving for. He is claiming the unspeakable. There is something of a mystic in all men, which accounts for many unreasonable performances found in the rituals.

Emotions may also ebb out in acquiescence or resignation; or they may be controlled with the prayer: "Thy will be done", or the feelings may be suspended in reliance on words and promises.

Over against this there is, perhaps in the same person or more prominently and persistantly in some people than in others, an irresistible desire "to do something about it", a refusal to accept things as they are and to keep quiet. In most cases, perhaps in all to a greater or lesser degree, there will emerge from the common background of expectancy a great variety of actions, — all of a twofold purpose; firstly to give vent to pent up feelings; secondly to bring about the desired result or at least to provide something to hold on to, it may be a concrete thing or a performance. These actions are instruments in the technical sense of the word, i.e. means with an indirect effect. A reference to Marett is here in place[1],

[1] Marett, The Threshhold of Religion, 63 ff.

although the word instrument is applied by Marett only to a limited number of actions and taken by him to form part of "magic". Significantly enough, however, the very indirect character of the instrument, or, as Marett says, its occult and supernatural connection, is what he considers to be a contribution to religion. From that one can reasonably infer a connection, which warrants the wider use of the word instrument to mean all acts, actions, modes of behaviour and performances which satisfy the two demands of being expressions of an attitude of expectancy and of serving a purpose, with a third conditio sine qua non, namely, that they have an indirect effect. They are not tools for man's own power; they always imply a third factor whether it is conceived as a personal being, or a power, or not conceived at all but simply implied.

One may remark that rites work mechanically, a word which is sometimes substituted for magical. Just as the workman presses the button and the machine makes match-boxes, the effective word pronounced by the performer makes the rites result in boons to the individual or to society. — The danger of metaphors is always the half-truth. In using this metaphor one usually thinks of the mechanism only, forgetting the power, failing which the machine will not work. — The essential thing with the rite is that it is not what it appears to be. It means something, which is the same as saying that it has a connection with something else. This connection may be momental or statical. A momental connection keeps the conception of a third factor alive. A statical one implies a once momental connection, the result of which remains or has been preserved as for example the reading of 100,000 Mantras over a silver spear to be used for healing purpose.[1] As a consequence of its repeated use without a renewed momental connection it tends to become a mechanical device. There are, however, still some retarding factors. Its use requires as a rule some additional rites or some preparation. It will never work automatically.

H. Delacroix in reserving a place to faith in all "religious "rites, at least — as in the matter of the sacrament in the Roman Catholic church — to the extent that the rite does not work, if the partaker is in the state of mortal sin, raises the question whether "magic" also does not require a sort of faith, at least as intention to make its

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[1] See below 331.

rites effective.[1] This is perfectly correct. A complete mechanisation of a rite to the entire exclusion of any relationship to a third factor makes it dead and useless in "religion" as well as in "magic".

From the point of view of intentional dealing with a third factor prayers, temple visits, pilgrimages, sacrifices, sacred readings as part of ceremonies, chanting of Mantras, gestures, formulas, circumambulation, applying of "sacred" herbs, drawing designs etc. etc. can all be of one kind, which does not prevent them from being worlds apart from other points of view. As instruments they can be classified with reasonable distinctness, whereas the material can not be successfully divided up and brought under the headings magic and religion because of the common background. With the term instrument a line of demarcation will appear to the eye, which may or may not coincide with any of the various differentiations attempted under religion and magic.

To fix the term instrument it is necessary to clarify the meaning of direct and indirect. A man may trust in God, in divine power or in a priest, in his Guru or even trust himself and expect help or success.[2] This is direct method. Nothing acts as an intermediary. A direct method knows no instruments. Trust leaves room for direct action, but once a man has taken to intermediaries whereby the effect of the trusted power is being brought about, his action is indirect. When he puts his trust in a god or in his Guru or in a magician, the question does not arise as far as he is concerned. The question is then: Does the god or the Guru act directly or indirectly when helping him? When Śiva receives the Ganges in his matted hair, it is direct action. The god is in no need of any instrument. When the sages curse, it may be but an example of selfexpression,

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[1] "Pourtant nous n'oserions pousser trop loin cette distinction, car l'action magique n'est peut-être pas de forme strictement mécanique, et peut-être requiert-elle quelque intention"? (Delacroix, La religion et la foi, 28).

[2] A man's self is a complex thing. Does it comprise his body? His whole body? Does the self include the means and tools he has learnt to master? Does it include the collective force and capacity of his clan or tribe? The questions serve to indicate how the conception is wavering. Cp. Grönbech, Primitiv religion, 45: "L'homme aussi est conçu comme une totalité dans toutes ses manifestations: corps, chaleur, paroles, influence invisible, avoir, rêves. La base de la conception, ce n'est pas l'individu particulier, mais la famille solidaire avec ses traits caractéristiques d'extérieur, d'idées, de traditions, de talent".

although it is a different story how they acquired their powerful "selves". — But the sages may curse with a formula and the gods may have recourse to sacrifices to combat the Asuras[1] and then they are no longer acting directly. E. Ehnmark is dealing with similar differences in Homeric religion[2] and sees in the god's recourse to a 'magic' apparatus "a relic of a more primitive view". From our point of view it is enough to see the difference between direct and indirect. In a strict sense instruments do not belong to the sphere of gods, but sages, priests and magicians use them frequently.

Many distinguish religion from magic by saying that religion is an indirect method, whereby an intermediary is called in whether it be a god or a spirit (whatever the difference can be), but magic is a direct method wherein man trusts and uses his own power.[3] With that distinction of terms it should in fact be the other way round. Religion must mean direct action, i.e. from the point of view of the agent, but magic can never be a direct method. Without an instrument there is no magic.[4]

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[1] Tuxen, Illustreret Religionshistorie, edited by Pedersen, 548, Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, 378.

[2] Ehnmark, Anthropomorphism, 5.

[3] See e.g. Rivers, Medicine, Magic and Religion, 4 and James, Comparative Religion, 49: "Unlike religion it (magic) has no transcendental reference to external supramundane powers, superior to man and controlling the processes of nature .... It is distinctively a human art inasmuch as while it involves the recognition of a supernatural order, it always works through the agency of man".

Cp. also Frazer, The Golden Bough, I, 234 and Farnell, Outline History of Greek Religion, 29, where he speaks of rites that had a direct efficacy apart from the appeal to any divinity, such as the strewing of the fields with the decaying remains of the pigs that had been consecrated to the Earth goddesses and thrown into the vault (at the Thesmoforia). Such remains were, however, not just manure. Something had come into them that made them efficacious.

[4] This is contradictory to the following statement by de la Vallée Poussin: "Gods are of course magicians; they go through the air, they create at their will palaces and pleasures (Bhoga). Sovereign kings or world emperors (Cakravartin) too are magicians by nature. — Ordinary men obtain momentary magic power by many devices" (ERE, VIII: 256).

It is questionable if one can ever speak of "magic by nature". It is all by devices (=instruments). Delacroix says in a note on the distinction between religion and magic: "... l'action sacramentelle repose au fond sur

With common people, on the other hand, the direct method is rare in South India, that is as the exclusive expression of the inner urge. There is no reason why one should not presume a direct approach in prayer with most people seeking help in need, but the majority does not stop at that. One instance may carry particular weight, because it is taken from the Christian community. An expectant mother was praying every day for a safe delivery. She came every evening at sunset and knelt on the doorsteps of the church. It means that in addition to prayer she was having recourse to an efficacious programme, an "instrument". It should be noticed that this becomes a depreciatory statement about her behaviour only if the word magic is applied, which in my opinion is just another proof that the word magic is not the mot juste. In line with this extreme example, almost across the border to direct approach, we find a large number of actions, acts of behaviour and enterprises which all are rightly called instruments.

Instruments, then, are used in indirect action and can be distin-

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l'institution divine, et non pas sur la nature des choses". The latter should then be the rule of magic, but this does not agree with what Delacroix has just said that magic can not be entirely without some sort of faith or intention or in his own words: "... il y a des compatibilités et des incompatibilités entre les forces que la Magie suppose à l'œuvre". (op. cit. 29). The "incompatibilités" of magic are inherent in the term instrument as always referring to a third factor, however sure one may be of its efficacy.

Evans-Pritchard separates witchcraft from magic and says: "A witch performs no rite, utters no spell and possesses no medicines. An act of witchcraft is a psychic act". (Evans-Pritchard, Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, 21). This is direct method in distinction from indirect. On a few points, however, one doubts if the witches are entirely without instruments. There is e.g. the witchcraft substance (op. cit. 21), a material element which is a sine qua non of the witch. Moreover it is not the existence of a witch, but the act of bewitching, which the Azande want to find out from the oracles (op. cit. 25). This may indicate an idea of a peculiar feature of the act of bewitching. There is also this statement to consider: "Witches usually combine in their destructive activities .... They assist each other in their crimes and arrange their nefarious schemes in concert" (op. cit. 38). This also indicates means through which these people exercise their "psychic" powers, which otherwise may remain "cool", as they say. "Witchcraft needs conscious direction" (op. cit. 36). It seems reasonable to assume the existence of instruments in a wider sense even among the Azande witches, but it is also possible to consider the act of witchcraft as direct action. The witch is taking the place of a god, who is not in need of instruments.

guished from spontaneous expressions and direct action. When a Paṭṭar (officiating priest) of a Śaivite temple takes the oil lamp and carries it on his round to all the deities, he will be holding it in a firm grip. His hand is employed in direct labour, the way in which he is holding his hand is not of an instrumental character although it certainly serves a purpose i.e. of bringing light with him. Purpose alone does not convert an act into an instrument, but instrument is always, out of sheer logical force, having a purpose as its corollary.[1] In Marett's language they are protasis and apodosis.[2] Because they are so closely connected, the subject before us naturally takes the formulation: Instrument and purpose. When defining the word instrument a reference to purpose is a matter of course.

When the Paṭṭar on the other hand calls the Kṣētrapālaṉ (The lord of the place) to be present (Āvāhaṉam) by means of the Kṣētrapāla Mūla Mantra and shows the Stāpaṉa Mudrā[3], he holds his hand in a position, which is of no direct use, as holding the lamp is. It has an indirect effect in helping to bring Kṣētrapālaṉ into presence. It is conceived as meaning something or standing for something and not as producing an immediate effect. To the Paṭṭar as well as to the people it signifies a realisation of effects which man cannot bring about by anything he has himself but only through means which he has taken over and which are effective through other powers than man's own strength. There is no need to name these powers in calling them occult or qualifying the effect in saying that it is a magic effect. Nothing is explained thereby and the emphasis is all the time on the formal point that not only man's own strength is at play. This is further stressed through the custom of making the indirect means, the instrument, more effective through accompanying words or various preparations. — It matters little what terms are used to distinguish the two grips from each other. The distinction is fundamental. One may object that it is a distinction made from the point of view of a man trained in categories of the natural-supernatural, rational-irrational, normal-supernormal or scientific causation versus imaginary, and that "primitive" man is not making such distinctions. Apart from the

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[1] "Only when a purpose exists, is it possible to speak of magic", M. P. Nilsson, Letter to Professor Arthur D. Nock, 95.

[2] Marett, The Threshhold of Religion, 64.

[3] See below 105.

fact that the culture of South India, with which we are concerned, is far from being "primitive", which does not prevent it from preserving primitive features, the present discussion on "primitive" mentality has a convincing tendency to grant common sense to all people.[1] Here is not the place to deal further with this big problem. Only that much is maintained that man under all sorts of cultural conditions knows direct action. The border line between what he himself is doing and where other powers are at play may vary from man to man and from culture to culture, but it will be drawn by all.

The line separating man's own action from actions implying an additional factor is, however, not fixed. When people through various devices (austerity, initiation etc.) have drawn "power" into themselves, the line ought to differentiate spheres of power inside man as e.g. a higher self and a lower self or an ordinary state of mind and an exceptional state of mind, when ritualistic preparation or special training has actualized the powerful self. More often the body marks the limit. As far as man can manage with his own corporal strength, he is acting directly. When it comes to the use of tools and instruments the distinction becomes vaguer. Man may use tools in a direct way, but there are signs that even ordinary tools may mean something more. Basing his statement on F. H. Cushing's observations among the Zuni L. Lévy-Bruhl says that ordinary tools are not entirely in the power of "primitive" people but have a life and capacity of their own".[2] A similar idea with the people of South India has left traces in the worship of the tools. Every year in the autumn there is a festival called Āyuta Pūcai

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[1] Cp. Olivier Leroy, La raison primitive, Essai de réfutation de la théorie du prelogisme. The book aims at refuting the theory of Lévy-Bruhl, the "prélogisme", 1. (Lévy-Bruhl has later modified his views, Les Carnets de L-B, 8 and 129 ff.) — Jensen, Mythos und Kult bei Naturvölkern, 15: "Bei ihren handwerklichen Betätigungen, beispielsweise beim Hausbau oder bei Feldarbeit, verfahren sie durchaus in einer Weise, die uns für das jeweilige Kulturniveau angemessen und richtig erscheint". — Cp. also Widengren, Evolutionism and the problem of the origin of religion, 66 ff. Note particularly: "Still the fundamental traits are the same" (op. cit. 70) with reference to Boas, The mind of Primitive Man, 1929, 211. — Cp. further Ehnmark, Anthropomorphism, 200 and Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion, 16 ff. and Radin, Primitive Religion, 60.

[2] Lévy-Bruhl, Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures, 34: "... une sorte de vie sourde". Cp. also van der Leeuw, Phänomenologie der Religion, 21.

(worship of the tools) when the tools are treated as divine beings and offered flowers and incense. In our language they are not mere tools; they are at that moment instruments, because they are qualified by a third factor and their use is not a direct method. — In the instruments the effectuating power may be a god's deputed power or may be due to his presence. Whether the power is or can be conceived as such or as an impersonal fluidum existing apart from the instrument or as a quality only is a secondary question.[1] The fundamental thing is the instrument itself. Even if we may not be justified in denying the power an existence apart from the instrument, it is quite safe to say that the instrument is the place where we find it.

This does not mean that in S. India all tools are instruments. In daily use the equipment of an artisan, a farmer or a clerk has no instrumental character. They become instruments only when through the Pūcai they are endued with an additional power or blessing. This makes them in a way analogous to the silver spear, which the "Poison King"[2] has caused to be endued with power by reading 100.000 Mantras over it. But tools are differentiated from instruments in that they are man-made, whereas an instrument does not serve its purpose until it has additional power added to it. This happens when it forms part of a rite.

The instrument can be anything. That is the reason why an investigator of instruments runs the risk of becoming lost in a jungle of phenomena, where he will have to cut his way with the help of the sword of classification, which may often cut rather arbitrarily.[3] We are here concerned with the instrument's indispen-

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[1] For a discussion on this point see Ehnmark, The idea of God in Homer, 36—38. The matter is taken up by Widengren, Evolutionism and the Problem of the Origin of Religion, 82—83. Ehnmark's words: "For it is not the power of the fetish that acts, but the fetish itself in virtue of its power" (op. cit. 37) are not wholly applicable to South Indian conditions, where the idea of Śakti is to some extent preserving an independent place to the power. An example of peoples way of thinking is furnished by the Christian pastor who was preaching to some villagers near Virudhunagar, Ramnad district, and said: "Your gods have no Śakti". We have evidently to give some room for abstract conceptions. Cp. below 341.

[2] See below 331 ff.

[3] Nilsson, Letter to professor Nock, The Harvard Theological Review, vol. XLII, No 2, 76: "Associations may be as fortuitous and arbitrary as

sible characteristic of being an effective means. There is no need to limit the use of the word instrument. It is beside the point to divide instruments into material objects and spells, as does A. Lang.[1] It may be the means through which God's will is revealed for example. From this point of view (but only from this point of view) there is no difference between the woman who picks up one of the small paper pieces thrown by the Pūcāri (officiating priest in smaller shrines) in front of the Tuṇai Māriyạmmaṉ shrine at Mathurai to find out whether her son will recover from his illness or not, and a Christian finding God's guidance in the sequence of events. But there is this difference that in the first case man forces the issue. The indirect action has become a method. Even an act of meditation, from many aspects the most direct way of communing with God one can think of, becomes an instrument, if it is done with a purpose to achieve something or as a part of a ritual, which is expected to give a result. In South India meditation (Tiyāṉam), implying a visualization of the deity in terms of iconography, has a fixed place in a great many rituals both for temple worship and for Mantra-reading by private practitioners. Another example may be taken from a Vaiṣṇava manual. It says: "Waking up from sleep at the Brahma Mukūrttam (an auspicious hour before sunrise) one should say seven times in one breath 'Harir, Harir, Harir, Harir, Harir, Harir, Hariḥ". This can be an action of devotion and a direct expression of faith. The act is, however, qualified by the command that the name must be pronounced seven times in one breath. The pious sigh has frozen into a form, which turns out to be an instrument, a means of beginning the day in a correct way. Forms are no longer direct acts, but have become patterns of a certain mode of living with an intrinsic power of preservation, even though it be the preservation of the inner life.

A ceremony, a gesture or a mode of behaviour can, on the other hand, be a legitimate support of meditation or imply a direct approach. There are forms and actions which do not serve a purpose as much as they are parts of spontaneous reactions. The statement made by A. E. Jensen in agreement with J. Huizinga that all acts

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possible". Cp. Marett's expression "chance associations", The Treshhold of Religion, 62.

[1] Lang, Magic and Religion, 46—47.

of cult are a play[1] is an exaggeration, but Jensen qualifies his words by refuting the idea of making purpose the primary cause of a rite.[2] Most rites are neither superfluous nor purposeless, but one must accept other aspects on cults and rites, among which the spontaneous expression of life, called play, is one.[3] Something of its kind may take place at festivals as for example the dance. It is not an uncommon scene in South India. It is begun by people in whom the god is supposed to descend (Kōṭaṅki or Cāmiyāṭi[4]), but as the dance goes on, other people will find the urge irresistible and whirl around to the accompaniment of the drums. One might also be right in considering something of play as the background to the temple rituals, the attention to the gods, the gestures (Mudrās) etc. but only as a part explanation, because they have often become petrified into formalities and routine work. They had, perhaps, originally not so much of purpose, and they may still serve as an outlet for fervent religious feelings. This will depend upon the state of mind of the individual priest. But now a negative purpose can be found in the danger of neglecting the ritual. If the rites were not properly performed, evil would befall the people.[5]

Instrument and purpose will form a yardstick which shall be applied to the daily life of people in South India. It implies a

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[1] Jensen, Mythos und Kult, 65, also about "Spiel" and "überflüssig und zweckfrei" 62—63. Huizinga, Homo Ludens, Amsterdam, 1939, 12 and 14, Engl. ed, 1949, 25—26: "Primitive ... ritual is thus sacred play, indispensible for the well-being of the community fecund of cosmic insight and social development but always play in the sense Plato gave to it — an action accomplishing itself outside and above the necessities and seriousness of everyday life".

[2] Jensen, op. cit. 254.

[3] Huizinga, Homo Ludens, London, 1949 deals fully with the term. About festivals see 21.

[4] See below 221 ff.

[5] Jensen says that scholars have underrated 'primitive man's' intelligence, because they always expected his actions to have a purpose. (op. cit. 25). — It matters, however, rather little if the point of distinction is carried back to motives or not. In a fixed ritual the actions will be considered "necessary" anyhow. If no purpose is attached to them, there is always the negative purpose of avoiding evil consequences through neglect or deviation. Cp. Beth Religion und Magie, 131, where he maintains that in magic performances "der Zweckgedanke auf der Hand liegt und sehr bestimmt ausgeprägt ist".

selective test with its weakness and its necessity as has been shown above. The choice of the yardstick, is, however, made on reasonable grounds. We meet at first glance with innumerable actions, performances and ceremonies carried out with some purpose and built up with elements, which imply a reference to a third factor. We speak of them as rites.

The application of this yardstick to a given material will throw some light on the problem of magic and religion. Instrument and purpose figure prominently among the criteria used to distinguish the two entities. In the list of aids to make a distinction between religion and magic drawn up by Goode[1] out of eleven aids at least eight are concerned with instrument and purpose. In as much as Goode's list represents a recent and comprehensive summary of the discussion, his aids will be made use of for an analysis at the end. They will be complemented with references to the aspect of attitude, which is not very prominent in Goode's list. Similarly Goode does not make a distinction in belief, as Webster does, when he characterizes magic as belief in occult power, impersonal or only vaguely personal.[2] Goode takes the reference to "non-empirical" and "non-human" forces as a common characteristic.[3] There will be occasion to refer to this also.

The yardstick will be applied to as wide a range of material as possible within a limited region, namely the Tamil language area in South India. We shall follow the daily routine, the festival cycle and the rythm of life and add rites and actions performed at times of crisis. We shall record acts and actions, ceremonies and modes of behaviour and register how far this yardstick can be used. because it is important when dealing with these aspects also to show their prevalence. The material will not only furnish examples but also give an indication of the hold these phenomena have on people in South India.

The material thus collected is not exhaustive or complete in the sense that a given area or a certain community is fully dealt with, nor will all details and variations of rites and ceremonies be taken into account. The extensive descriptive account given, will, I trust, be comprehensive enough to give a view of real life in South India

[1] Goode, Magic and religion, 177.

[2] Webster, Magic, 55.

[3] Goode, op. cit. 172—173.

today and refute criticism for picking examples at random in support of a theory.[1] From the temple rituals for example also such items will be recorded as may not fit the measure. The material presented, of which the author's own notes and observations during 20 years stay in India form a part, is considered sufficient to make so to speak an incision into the daily life of the people of the Tamil country from a certain point of view. It will be possible to assign to the elements thus laid bare their average place and importance in Tamil culture today. We aim at probing into one feature of life in South India with sufficient material to allow an appraisal of the prevalence of the indirect method as well as of an accurate understanding of its implication.

Sufficiently documented the analysis will give elucidation on certain kinds of behaviour, beliefs and practices implying an indirect method and thus be a contribution to a solution of the problem of magic and religion.

In the absence of comprehensive accumulations of data of popular religion much room must be given to descriptive accounts. Libraries containing vernacular literature are few.[2] There is nowhere a complete collection of pamphlets and books and booklets of interest and use in connection with our subject. Most of such books are printed in a very limited number of copies. Many disappear from the market within a short time and are nowhere available, and yet the number of such books that have been printed is considerable.

Aiming at an understanding of the indirect method and its place in the life of the people in the Tamil country at present we shall have to leave out the question of the origin and history of the various rites and their elements. Only occasionally an indication of their history will be made.

As a final remark it may be added that this is not a comprehen-

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[1] Special rites of initiation will generally be left out but an occasional reference may be made to the initiation of Śaivites (Tīkṣai, Skt. Dīkṣā). For these see Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. II, part I, 10 ff. and Nandinath, A Handbook of Vīraśaivism, 66—73. For Vaiṣṇavas there is a complete description of the initiation rites in Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 101 ff.

[2] Use has been made of the University Library, Madras, the Connemara Library, Madras, The Tamil Sangam Library, Mathurai and the India Office library, London.

sive study of Hinduism and must not be taken as an exposition of Hinduism. The material will not necessarily be limited to the rites of the Hindus but refer to all sections of the population, Hindus, Muhammedans and Christians. Only occasionally will examples of present day Hindu thinking concerning the rites be recorded. Our aim is to allow the practice to speak for itself, although it is well known that the rites are sometimes interpreted differently by Hindu thinkers.[1]

[1] Dealing with this problem of various conceptions of a given manifestation of the divine (variété des hiérophanies) Eliade declares that neither its historical nor its structural heterogeneity present a hindrance to an understanding of the thing. Eliade, Traité d'histoire des religions, 22.

Chapter II

THE MATERIAL

Introduction — The Tamilians

The material is taken from the Tamil area in South India or in common speech the 'Tamil country' (Nāṭu).[1] The expression refers here to language only and has no racial or political significance, although since the Andhra state was established in 1953, the Tamil speaking people have been forming a nearly uniform political unit. There are, however, Tamil speaking groups outside the Madras state, as for example in the southernmost part of Travancore and in the northern part of Ceylon, Jaffna, apart from emigrants in many parts of the East.

The Tamil language has a long history and is contained in a vast literature of high linguistic and cultural refinement.[2] It belongs to the Dravidian family of languages[3] and is spoken by 24 million people in this area.[4] It is divided into *Cen-Tamiḻ*, the refined language, equal to the language of poetry, which is understood by educated, not to say learned, people only, and *Koṭun-Tamiḻ*, the common dialect, which in spite of local variations is understood all over the area.[5]

Largely speaking the 24 million people, united through their Tamil mother tongue, differ little from the common culture of

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[1] For general information see the article Dravidians (South India) by Frazer, ERE, V, 21 ff and P. Meile in L'Inde Classique, I §§ 890—920 and II §§ 1904—1928 and also Lehmann, Die sivaitische Frömmigkeit, der Tamulischen Erbauungsliteratur, 29—36.

[2] R. Caldwell Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 78 ff. Cp. Pope, Nālaṭiyār, Introduction. Meile, L'Inde Classique, II, 297 ff.

[3] Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, 277 ff.

[4] According to the census of 1951.

[5] Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, 299.

India as far as one can speak of such a thing[1], but the Tamilians have their own traditions of social life and religion manifest especially in their classics.[2] These ideals have of late been brought to the forefront and coupled with a purism of language in a political movement, the "Dravida Kalakam". Its ultimate goal is separation politically from the rest of India and a revival of the ancient Tamil culture, freed as far as possible from Ariyan infiltration. — In matter of language these efforts have had a considerable success, and thus the gap has widened between the speech of the Brāhmans, strongly dominated by Sanskrit influence, and the speech of others, from which Sanskrit words are deliberately kept out. The technical language of the rituals is to a very high degree, in some cases up to hundred percent, of Sanskrit origin. The rites are therefore taken to be Ariyan inventions and boycotted by the extremists.

Both Sanskrit-dominated Tamil and purist-Tamil are fairly evenly distributed over the whole area, which stretches from Madras in the north to Cape Comorin in the south and comprises the eastern and central parts of the peninsula as far to the west as the Travancore-Cochin border.

The language of Travancore, Malaiyalam, is very closely related to Tamil and became a separate language only after the 9:th or 10:th century A.D.[3]

External records of the history of the Tamilians begin to appear in the third century B.C.[4] There were of old three kings: Cōlaṉ ruling over approximately the Tanjore and Tiriccirappalli districts, Pāṇṭiyaṉ exercising his power over the Mathurai-Ramnad and Tirunelveli districts and Cēralaṉ ruling over the west coast and territories to the north of the kingdom of the Pāṇṭiyaṉ. They were sometimes subdued by the Pallavas, ruling further north at Kanci-

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[1] Konow, Indiens religioner, Illustreret Religionshistorie, 500.

[2] Nilakanta Sastri, A history of South India, Srinivas Iyengar, History of the Tamils, Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, 30—31: "A careful study of this literature does not, however, support the view that the Tamils had developed an advanced civilization of their own, wholly independent of Northern India." The wider implication of this statement is challenged by Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Tamil cultural influences in South East Asia, TC, IV, 203.

[3] Linguistic Survey of India, vol. IV, 348.

[4] L'Inde Classique, I, 245.

puram. The Pāṇṭiya rulers made Mathurai a famous centre of learning and were in turns the protectors of Jain religion and culture and the patrons of Śaivism. At the end of the first millenium of the Christian era the Cōḷa kings reached great heights of power and extended their interest and influence over the seas. Later a large area came under the Vijayanagar Empire and was ruled by generals, but one of them revolted against his king-emperor and gave Mathurai a new period of greatness as a centre for political power and magnificent architectural achievements. This was under the Naik-rulers from the middle of the 16:th century till the middle of the 18:th century. — Apart from sporadic Muhammedan invasions the Tamil country has suffered little from devastations by foreign invaders and has a large number of big temple buildings standing intact.

The Tamilians preserve in their literature records of a division of the population into five regions (Tiṇai) which have not only a geographical significance but imply social order, customs and behaviour of the different groups of people they comprise. This picture differs widely from the present caste system, which divides the population into a great number of castes and subcastes.[1] — Religion does not override the caste system. It is upheld through endogamic practice even among Christians. Converts to Islam, of which there are several groups, also maintain a tie of tribal kinship. — Taken at large the Hindu population falls into three big groups; Brāhmans, non-Brāhmans and low castes. "Out-castes" is a less correct name for the latter group, because although they have been considered to be outside society, they are not without a caste system. Within themselves they maintain a strict system of endogamic isolation.

Society in South India to-day is being subject to the changes brought about by constitution and propaganda in the new Indian republic. For purpose of educational help and in many other respects the following social groups are reckoned with: Brāhmans, Non-Brāhman Hindus, Backward classes and Scheduled classes and Muhammedans and Christians. Some Muhammedans are taken

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[1] The question of the origin of the caste system is much debated and still unsettled. Cp. Stanley Rice, Hindu Customs, 56 ff, Hutton, Caste in India, Hocart, Caste, a comparative Study.

along with the Backward classes and some Christians come in some connections under Scheduled classes. The latter two groups are entitled to concessions in the payment of fees etc.

The Tamilians live mainly by agriculture, although industry is growing. There are many cotton mills in the Mathurai and Coimbatore districts. Industrialization breaks up the pattern of social life, but the process has just begun, and the Tamil country still maintains a cultural pattern based on contact with agriculture and village communal life. The Brāhmans, for example, although mostly serving as teachers and lawyers — to the extent that schools under Hindu management often have a hundred percent Brāhman staff — as a rule own landed property.

It follows that the structure of society is more or less the same everywhere. One finds the Brāhman maintaining the Vedic tradition and alone upholding the knowledge of Sanskrit. The large middle class represents a great variety of professions and castes. The menials, uneducated and bound to live in separate quarters, are doing service to all the others. These broad outlines correspond to the conditions in cities and towns as well as in villages.

Hinduism, Islam and Christianity are the religions of the Tamilians. There are also a few thousand Jains in Madras city. Other groups are insignificant minorities.[1]

The Hindus are largely Śaivites but the Vaiṣṇavas have been on the increase.[2] Except the Brāhmans, who always keep up the difference between Śaivite and Vaiṣṇava sects, the remaining part of the Hindu population is less decided, as was remarked in the

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[1] The census for 1951 gives for the south Madras division the following figures:

Hindus	28,098,274
Jains	21,815
Sikhs	2,600
Buddhists	1,181
Zoroastrians	1,700
Muslims	1,491,861
Christians	1,099,439
Jews	353
Tribal	—
Non-tribal	8,677

[2] Elmore, Dravidian gods, 6.

census report for 1911 by Sir Edward Gait.[1] The Śaiva temples are open to all Hindus. The right of the low castes to enter the temples is guaranteed in law but doubtful in practice. The Vaiṣṇavas guard their temples more strictly. Non-Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans as a rule do not enter. — A large number of shrines are neither Śaivite nor Vaiṣṇava, but few people would disclaim all connection with either sect.

The cult is largely in conformity with Āgamic rites.[2] Elements of these rites have infiltrated even into small shrines where animal sacrifices are performed. Vedic rites are mainly followed at home by the Brāhmans.

As performers of the rites we find three groups: family priests (Purohits), temple priests (Ācāriyar, Arccakar, Paṭṭar) and Pūcāris who officiate at shrines, which are neither Śaivite nor Vaiṣṇava, and belong to various castes. Often they are potters. As a rule the office is hereditary, at least by custom if not by compulsion. The temple priests undergo a certain training. There are schools for learning to chant the Vedas. Āgamic rites are taught in the temples. Some places are mentioned as schools, but as a rule the Paṭṭar (the group that offers the oblations to the images) will learn from practice in their home-temples. — Some Pūcāris will have to show their calling through an experience of 'possession'. That means that the god descends on the man he chooses for his priest.

Temples and shrines are everywhere in the Tamil country. The smallest village will have a shrine to a goddess with some attendant deities and often several minor deities represented by a stone or a tree. The elephantheaded god Gaṇeśa will have his shrine in most places. There will be two or three small temples in larger villages, one at least to a form of Śiva or Viṣṇu, usually called Īcuvaraṉ temple and Perumāḷ temple respectively. In towns where larger temples are found, the small shrines are by no means absent. Every block will have its guardian deity, and the goddesses mingle their abodes with the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

The importance of rites and ceremonies is visible in the life of the streets where often people in their dress and behaviour, indi-

[1] Census of India Report for 1911, part I, pp. 114—15. Cp O'Malley, Popular Hinduism, 215—16.

[2] See below 54. Cp. Shamashastri, Dravidian Culture, ABORI, vol. XI, 336 ff.

vidually or in groups, betray an occupation which has another meaning than their daily work.

Inroads to a deeper understanding of the place and meaning of rituals and rites among the Tamilians can be had from the literature available. Not many works, however, deal directly with conditions in South India.

The Books

1. Among general works, monographs and journals referred to, comparatively few are dealing with South India directly. Frequent references are found in the works of Bhandarkar,[1] Crooke, Monier Williams, Stevenson,[2] Glasenapp, Underhill, Herklots, Gopinatha Rao and others, while Elmore, Whitehead, Nelson, Jouveau-Dubreuil, Francis, Frölich, Graul, Dubois, Ziegenbalg, Jagadisa Ayyar, Narayana Ayyar, Sandegren, Dumont, Padfield, Oppert, Rangachari and others devote their whole attention to conditions prevailing in South India.

2. The material coming under observation is partly found in the gazetteers of the districts, in collections like E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of South India and the same author, Omens and Superstitions of Southern India, L. K. Ananda Krishna Iyer, Tribes and Castes of Cochin, H. V. Nanjundayya, Mysore Tribes and Castes, in journals like the Indian Antiquary, Indian Culture, The Indian Historical Quarterly, Siddhānta Deepika, The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Journal of Oriental Research of the University of Madras (which is, however, chiefly devoted to language studies), Annals of Oriental Research, Journal of the Madras University, The Pilgrim (Journal of the Christian Society for the study of Hinduism), Tamil Culture and others. Although these journals for the most part contain articles of research, they occasionally contain

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[1] For full particulars see the bibliography.

[2] Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson (The Rites of the Twiceborn) has given an admirable account of the rites followed at home as well as of the rituals of the temples. Her work consists of notes carefully checked by her informants. Her field of work is western India, but because of the general expansion of the Brāhman culture and Hindu tenets and practices on the whole, Stevenson's book is instructive for South India as well. — In Stevenson's book a living tradition is preserved, but it is not documented by reference to literature and not subjected to an analytical or comparative scrutiny.

descriptive accounts and statements forming part of the actual situation.

3. The chief source of information is found in ritual handbooks written in Tamil and Sanskrit. They may be divided into four groups, viz.

a. Books containing temple rituals. Here belong the Āgamas and abbreviated manuals such as the works of Akoracivacariyar and Appaya Dīkṣitar (the Śivārcanā Candrikā), all of which will be described on the following pages.

b. Manuals containing daily rites of home life. The subject matter corresponds largely to the first group of subjects of the Gṛhya Sūtras.[1]

c. Astrological handbooks and calendars.

d. Māntirīkam handbooks teaching the art of reading Mantras, and similar books.

e. References will also be made to local temple legends, the Sthala Purāṇas, which contain information about rituals, local practices, the result of pilgrimages and so on and so forth.

The books mentioned need further presentation, because many of them are not available in libraries, at least not in the West, and many belong to the ephemeral literature of the street vendors, which soon disappears from the market.

a. As far as the temple ritual is concerned the authoritative books are the Āgamas. Traditionally they fall into three groups namely:

Śākta Āgamas	77	in number
Pāñcarātra Āgamas	108	» »
Śaiva Āgamas	28	» » [2]

The Śākta Āgamas are referred to as Tantras, alternatively by P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar[3] and exclusively by Farquhar and Winternitz.[3] This is also the word used in the Śaiva Āgamas. In the beginning there is a chapter explaining how the Āgamas came into

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[1] Farquhar, Outline, 39.

[2] Schomerus, Der Śaiva Siddhānta, 14, — Srinivasa Iyengar, Outlines of Indian Philosophy, 131, — Violet Paranjoti, Śaiva Siddhānta, 2, where, however, by misprint the Śaiva Āgamas are 108 instead of 28.

[3] Srinivasa Iyengar, Outlines, 130, — Farquhar, Outline, 199, — Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, vol. I, 481—483.

existence, called the Descendance of the Tantras (Tantrāvatāra).[1] The Āgamas are taught by Śiva to Pārvatī.[2] Another set of teaching emanates from Pārvatī, which is called Nigama,[3] a word translated by Apte as Veda.

In common speech the word Tantra is reserved for the books of the Śākta sect, but their main interpreter to the West, Arthur Avalon[4] maintains that Āgama is the name for the "scripture" of all the three sects and the Āgama is constituted of scriptures called Tantras.[5]

Both Śāktas and Śaivas acknowledge Śiva as their supreme deity but not so the Pāñcarātra school, naturally enough, since it belongs to Vaiṣṇavism. For the Pāñcarātra Āgamas O. Schrader's book will serve as an introduction.[6] The list of Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās given by Schrader, however, seems to contain works also of the other Vaiṣṇava school, the Vaikhānasa. The position of the latter school was not clear. From other works it is gathered that the Vaikhānasa ritual, which is what interests us here, was more difficult than the Pāñcarātra[7]. It could be performed by persons with special initiation only[8] and it showed less sectarian spirit. Ramanuja who in many respects is the founder of modern Viṣṇu religion, is said to have introduced the Pāñcarātra ritual wherever he went[9] thereby widening the gap between Āgamic Śaivites and Āgamic Vaiṣṇavites. — The Vaikhānasa ritual is maintained to-day in fewer temples but,

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[1] So Kāmika, Kāraṇa and Suprabheda, for which see below.

[2] Woodroffe, Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, 3.

[3] Nalini Kanta Brahma, Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā, 274.

[4] Pseudonym for Sir John Woodroffe, who since 1913 has been publishing Tantric texts and essays on their contents in cooperation with or sometimes written by Indian scholars (The Principles of Tantra is a work called Tantratattva by Pandit Shiva-Chandra Vidyarnava edited with an introduction by Arthur Avalon. See Shakti and Shākta, 15). These books have appeared in second, third or even fourth editions during recent years from Madras.

The works published by Sir John Woodroffe represent an interpretation and a presentation of the Śākta religion. They are partly collections of material rather than reports of investigation.

[5] Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, 143 and 482.

[6] Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā.

[7] Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 99.

[8] Op. cit. 99.

[9] Farquhar, Outline, 182.

nota bene, in major temples like Tirupati, Kancipuram, Sriperumpudur, Alakarkovil and also in the Kūṭal Aḷakar temple, the so called great Viṣṇu temple, at Mathurai. — The Vaikhānasa ritual may have served temples where Śiva and Viṣṇu were worshipped together[1] or at any rate closely connected if not identified, as Woodroffe says.[2]

In 1929 W. Caland published a translation of the Vaikhānasa-smārta Sūtra thus bringing to light texts of this school.[3] It has its name from sage Vikhānasa who had four disciples, Marīci, Bhṛgu, Atri and Kaśyapa, through whom the teaching was handed down to the devotees. They are all mentioned by the Vaiṣṇava temple priests at Mathurai as authors of the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas. Their contents as far as it is known from published books[4] agrees largely with the Śaiva Āgamas. The temple rituals, for example, begin with the ceremonial ploughing (Karṣaṇam) and end with the festivals (Utsava) just as the Śaiva Āgamas[5] do, which shall be our main texts and more fully dealt with below.

To what extent the three (or four) sets of Āgamas differ from each other in detail and how far they agree with one another will be known, when a comparative study has been completed. To a great extent they must be essentially one in outlook. Sir John Woodroffe is probably right in saying: "Nevertheless when these Āgamas have been examined and are better known, it will, I think, be found that they are largely variant aspects of the same general ideas and practices".[6] The Āgamas are the sacred texts for what is called the Tantric religion. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's words give evidence of the influence of this literature as well of its uniformity: "The living Hindu religion of to-day from Cape Comorin to the remotest corners of Tibet is essentially Tantric".[7] This statement

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[1] Op. cit. 182.

[2] Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, 57—58.

[3] Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra. The domestic rules and sacred laws of the Vaikhānasa school belonging to the Black Yajurveda. Translated by W. Caland. See also Caland, On the sacred books of the Vaikhānasas.

[4] Texts are published by the Tirupati Devastanam, e.g. parts of the Marīci Saṃhitā, the Atri Saṃhitā and the Kaśyapa Saṃhitā. See further Caland, op. cit. and Gonda, Aspects on early Viṣṇuism, 241—42.

[5] See particularly the list of contents in the Kāraṇam, 60 ff.

[6] Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, 60.

[7] Srinivasa Iyengar, Outlines, 130. Repeated in his History of the

gains support from a comparison of the Śaivite temple ritual, as it will be described at length on the following pages, with the brief indication of the contents of the Tantras as the literature of the Śāktas given by Winternitz[1] and still more with the works of Sir John Woodroffe. All the chief elements of the cult (Bīja, Nyāsa, Mudrā, Yantra etc., for which see below), mentioned by Winternitz, are found in the Śaiva rituals as well as in the Śākta works and the Vaiṣṇava rituals.[2] It can therefore safely be concluded that the concepts inbedded in the Āgamic rituals have a general validity.

We learn something about the Śaiva Āgamas from R. W. Frazer.[3] F. N. Farquhar gives the list of the 28 Āgamas of the Śaivas, who in South India speak of 207 Upāgamas (secondary Āgamas) in addition.[4] In a note R. W. Frazer says: "A full account of the Āgamas is given by V. V. Raman in his translation of Appaya's commentary on Vedānta-Sūtras (Madras) now being printed in parts".[5] Frazer also refers to an account of the Āgamas by M. Shanmukha Sundara called 'Sakala Āgama Sāra Saṅgraha'[6] and says

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Tamils, 103. So also Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, 482: "The bulk of the ritual which to-day governs all the old schools of Hindu worshippers is to be found in the Āgamas".

[1] Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, vol. I, 481—82.

[2] For the Śaiva ritual see below. The Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, 1952, will furnish examples of the Śākta use. For Vaiṣṇava practice of Nyāsa and Cakra see Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 65 and 107 and passim.

[3] ERE, vol. 5, 25. and vol. 11. 95.

[4] Caivaviṉāviṭai, 23, — Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai, 22.

[5] ERE, vol. 5, 25.

[6] Available in the British Museum Library (ref. No 14033 ea 11) The book is divided into four sections: 1. rules for the daily ritual (Nitya Karma), 1—56, 2. rules for the worship of Śiva (Civārccaṉai), 57—135, 3. rules for visiting the temple of Śiva (Civālaya Taricaṉam), 136—143. 4. rules for eating (Pōjaṉam), 144—147.

The author, (in literal transliteration) Ṣaṇmuka Cuntarar gives rules for these four items quoting different Āgamas and Śaiva Purāṇas. The Kūrma- and Liṅga-Purāṇas are said to be samples of living according to the principles shown in the Āgamas. — The main portions cover the daily rites of the individual and the worship in the temples. Arccaṉai is here the word with the wider meaning. It covers a great number of acts of Pūjā (for which see below).

The text is in Sanskrit printed in Grantha characters, but a long introduction in Tamil gives an elementary instruction to a pupil on the meaning and benefit of the rites, e.g. "Truly it removes poverty and gives health of body

that Mr. Shanmukha Sundara also published separate Āgamas with Tamil commentaries.[1] A copy of the Kāmikāgama has been traced and is now in the possession of the author. Copies of the Kāraṇāgama are also available but without Tamil commentary from Alakappa Mutaliyār whose widow in 1953 lived at Chintadripet in Madras. In her house the remaining stock of loose sheets of the Kāraṇāgama was still kept, while the Kāmikāgama was out of stock. These two Āgamas are printed in Grantha script.

An advertisement printed on the back of the title page to Uttara Kāraṇam, dated 15—1—1928 announces the following books for sale at Alakappa Mutaliyār, 35, Aiyamutali street, Chintadripet, Madras:

Kāmikākamam Pūrvam Uttaram	Rs 40–0–0
Kāraṇākamam Pūrvam Uttaram	20–0–0
Suprapētākamam	5–0–0
Mirukēntrākamam (with Tamil translation)	2–8–0
Kumāratantram	3–8–0
Pauṣkarākamam (with Tamil translation)	6–8–0
Vātuḷacuttam Savyākyāṇam (i.e. with commentary)	3–8–0
Śivañāṇapōta Savyākyāṇam	0–8–0
Sittānta Sārāvaḷi (with Tamil translation)	3–0–0
Sakalākama Sāracaṅkraham	3–0–0
Jīrṇōttāra Taśakam Savyākyāṇam (i.e. with com.)	1–8–0
Prasāta Ṣaṭślōkī	0–7–0
Māsapaurṇai Pūjāviti	0–4–0
Pratiṣṭā Aṣṭātacakriyāvaḷi	2–8–0
Akōraśivacāriyār Kriyākrama Jyōti, Pūrvam Aparam Śaivaṣōṭaśam (with Tamil transl.)	10–0–0
Śivaliṅka Pratiṣṭai, Tēvi Pratiṣṭai Navamīpūjāviti, Viṇāyaka Pratiṣṭai, Supramaṇya Pratiṣṭai, Utsavaviti Tvajārōhaṇa Cūrṇikai Pavitrōtsavaviti, Prāyaścittam etc.	16–0–0
Cittiyār Parapakkam (in Tamil)	1–8–0
Yūkimuṇi Cāstram (3 vol. in Tamil)	10–0–0

From this list we find that four Āgamas and two Upāgamas have been edited from Madras namely Āgamas: Kāmikam, Kāraṇam, Suprapētam and Vātuḷam — and Upāgamas: Mirukēntram and Pauṣkaram. The (Skt) Mṛgendra Āgama should not be treated as the first section of the Kāmikam, as Farquhar has it[2] but as an Upā-

and mind, prosperity of place and things and success in command and all thinkable good including Mokṣa" (3).

[1] ERE, vol. 11, 95.

[2] Farquhar, Outline, 194.

gama of the Kāmikam, as is clear from Mṛgendra I, 22 where the Kāmikam is mentioned[1]. Mṛgendra and Pauṣkara both have the Jñāna section (see below) only. The latter is said to be the fourth Upāgama among seven belonging to the 26:th Āgama called Parameśvara. It is used among Vīraśaivar and the Tamil translation was made by a member of that sect, Kumaracaranka Tēvar. It is worth noticing that he was evidently not a Brāhman but belonged to the castes of Maṟavar or Kaḷḷar.[2]

Of the Vātula also, the Jñāna portion only is well known. It differs widely, however, from the Pauṣkara and Mṛgendra in the contents as can be seen from the division of chapters. Both Pauṣkara and Mṛgendra are on the Śaiva Siddhānta line with parts like Pati, Pacu, Pācam and the five activities of Śiva (Mṛgendra)[3], but Vātula is more on the Tantric[4] line dealing with Cakras[5] and Mantras. Out of its 10 chapters comprising 188 pages, four chapters deal with these things.

In addition to these books, which, apart from the Kāraṇam, are all available in the British Museum Library, there is another edition of parts of the Kāmikam printed at Kumbakonam. Its full title is: Śrī Kāmikam, Piratiṣṭāti Utsavānta Paṭalaṅkaḷ (the sections from 'consecration' to 'festival'), Sanskrit text with Tamil translation.[6] This is not the place to take up literary questions. Only that much may be noted that it does not agree with the edition of Sanmuka Cuntarar. In the few places where I have had occasion to compare the two editions (chapters Mantrāvatāra and Vāstuśānti) they differ entirely from each other. The Kumbakonam edition is evidently producing parts of the original only and in prose. It is not possible to pursue the matter further here.

Traditionally the Āgamas, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, are divided into four sections, which are — to quote Farquhar[7]:

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[1] Narayanaswamy Aiyar, The Mṛgendra Āgama, 81.

[2] Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India, III, 53.

[3] Schomerus, Śaiva Siddhānta, 431.

[4] That is speculating on elements of the ritual.

[5] See below 275, note 1.

[6] Ed. by Sadyojata Sivacarya, Kumbakonam, 1916—19.

[7] Farquhar, Outline, 184. Note the statement of Alakappa Mutaliyār: "In the Āgamas the order is for the way of creation (Sṛṣṭi Mārkkam): Cariyai, Kriyā, Yōkam, Ñāṉam. (This is Rudrabheda according to Pauṣkaram, preface), and in some for the way of destruction (Caṅkāra Mārkkam):

"Jñāna-Pāda: philosophical theology.
Yoga-Pāda: the new Yoga teaching and practice.
Kriyā-Pāda: the building of temples and making of idols.
Caryā-Pāda: religious practice."

This is more elaborately explained in the Kumbakonam edition of parts of the Kāmikam. Kāmikam is considered to have descended to the mountain Meru and from it the following teaching is taken. It has four parts: Kiriyai (Skt. Kriyā), Cariyai (Skt. Caryā), Yōkam (Skt. Yoga) and Ñāṉam (Skt. Jñāna) which lead to liberation (Mukti) in four ways Cālōkam, Cāmīppiyam, Cārūpam and Cāyujyam. — Cāyujyam (Skt. Sāyujya=having life in common) is obtained through Jñāna; Cārūpam (Skt. Sārūpya=having the same form) is obtained through Yoga; Cāmīppiyam (Skt. Sāmīpya=vicinity) through Kriyā and Cālōkam (Skt. Sālokya=being in the same world or sphere with another) through Caryā.[1] — These are the four final states (Patavi) of bliss (Mukti).

Ñāṉam has three divisions: Pācaññāṉam, Pacuññāṉam and Patiññāṉam.

Yōkam has three parts: Haṭa (Skt. Haṭha). Lampikā (Skt. Lambikā) and Caivarāja.

Kiriyai has three parts: Nittiyam, Naimittikam and Kāmiyam. Nittiyam comprises the daily rites. Naimittikam stands for consecration (Piratiṣṭai) and festivals (Utsava) and Kāmiyam for the expiatory rites (Prāyaścitta).[2]

It goes on to say that this Kiriyai Pātam, divided in three parts from the sacred ploughing (Karṣaṇam) to consecration (Piratiṣṭai), from consecration to festival (Utsavam) and from festival to expiatory rites (Prāyaścitta), is the same as Cariyai Pātam.[3]

So far the Kumbakonam edition. Cariyai is lost sight of and merged in the Kiriyai section, but the real reason must be that this division into four parts does not fit the Kāmikam. In different

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Ñāṉam, Yōkam, Kriyā and Cariyai (This is Śivabheda according to Pauṣkaram, preface). — In some again the order is Ñāṉam, Kriyā, Yōkam, Cariyai". Kāraṇam, Uttaram, preface, 3.

[1] Cp. Piet, Śaiva Siddhānta, 137.

[2] Kāmiyam is more distinctly equal to the Kāmyeṣṭis, "Wunschopfer". See Caland, Altindische Zauberei, V.

[3] Kāmikam, Kumbakonam edition, chapter Tantrāvatāra, Slokas 11—21 (except 15 and 16a). Transl. 4.

ways the distinction between Kiriyai and Cariyai has been upheld. A Śaivite cathechism defines them as follows: Caryā is sweeping the temple, cleansing, supplying it with lamps, planting a flower garden, weaving garlands and hanging them on the image of the god; attending the temple worship etc. Kriyā is performing ablutions of great Śiva according to the ritual of the Vedas and Āgamas, worshipping him with sacred leaves and flowers, making oblations to him of incense and lights.[1]

This corresponds partly to the duties of the Paricārakar and the Paṭṭar respectively. The former are temple servants, the latter perform the rites of the temple.

Farquhar's distinction between Kriyā and Caryā refers to worship and ethics, and this is not far from the teaching of the only Āgama out of the four mentioned which has all these four sections, namely Suprabheda. Its Kriyā section deals clearly with temple worship presented under 56 items including the personal preparation of the performer, whereas the Caryā section deals with caste distinction and the 16 Saṃskāras i.e. the place of the individual in society and his ritualistically good behaviour.[2] — Kriyā is the most important part to judge both from its size and its place. Suprabheda in this edition consists of these parts: Kriyā, pp. 1—230; Caryā, pp. 231—290; Yoga, pp. 291—314 and Jñāna, pp. 315—340.

In a preface to the Kāmikāgama Sanmuka Cuntarar explains that although the Āgamas are divided into these four parts, only the Kriyā portion is in usage, because it contains all the other three.[3] He then directs the reader to look up the Mirukēntiram (Mṛgendra) and Cittāntacārāvaḷi[4] to see how it got its place after Ñāṉam (Jñāna). Mṛgendra is called the Pētam and Vaḷinūl of the Kriyā portion. That means it is a secondary work having Kriyā as its original and differing in parts from the Kriyā.

Whether this is correct or not from a historical point of view cannot be decided here. It is certainly true, however, that the traditio-

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[1] Foulkes, A catechism of the Śaiva Religion, 8—9. Piet, op. cit. 124—25.

[2] Suprapētākamam, Madras, 1907. Cp. rites for men=Cariyai and rites for the god Kriyā, Caland, On ... the Vaikhānasas, 1928.

[3] "Kriyā is the cause of and contains the meaning of Jñāna", Caivapūṣaṇam, 1925, II.

[4] The Cittāntacārāvaḷi (Skt. Siddhānta-Sārāvali) is by Trilochana Sivacharya. Cp. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, 1, 12.

nal division of contents in Jñāna, Yoga, Kriyā and Caryā of *each* Āgama, as Frazer says[1] does not hold good. The sketch of the teaching of the Āgamas in general supplied by Farquhar[2] is also misleading, in so far as some Āgamas contain no such teaching except possibly as their fundamental outlook. Farquhar is more correct when he says: "... and many deal only with Kriyā and Caryā. Indeed a very large part of all the material of the Saṃhitās deals with practice."[3]

The division into four sections does not fit the texts very well, sometimes not at all, because they were largely arranged under other aspects. The Kāmikāgama consists of two parts, printed in Madras 1889—1899: The Pūrvam (first or original part), which covers 1308 pages folio, the Tamil commentary included, and Uttaram, text only, which covers 253 pages. The Pūrvam contains four portions of varying length. The first portion of 60 pages deals with the origin of the Āgamas. The second portion is considerably larger and gives rules for the daily religious observances (Nittiyam). These take nearly 300 pages. From page 344 to 1054 follow "rules for the establishment of houses and temples indispensible for performing the rites (Kiriyai) for one's own benefit and for the benefit of others".[4] The remaining pages, 1055—1308 contain rules for dedication (Piratiṣṭai).

Sanmuka Cuntarar divides the contents of the Uttaram into nine portions as follows: 1. Rules for worship (Pūcai). 2. Festivals. 3. Initiation (Tīkṣai[5]). 4. Dedication of images used during festivals

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[1] ERE, vol. 11. 95.

[2] Farquhar, Outline, 194—95.

[3] Farquhar, Outline, 184.

[4] Kāmikam, Uttaram, preface. The building of the temple from the selection of suitable ground till the installation of the Linga, when it becomes ready for worship, thus occupies the largest portion. It is preceded by two chapters on (auspicious) time and signs (Nimitta).

[5] Śiva-Tīkṣai (Skt. Dīkṣā) is the ceremony whereby a man (or a woman) is made fit to worship Śiva in accordance with the rules of the Śaiva Āgamas. It divides the Śaivites into four groups: namely those who have received Camaya-or occasional T., those who have received Vicēṣa-or special T., those who have received Nirvāṇa or "emancipation" T. and Ācāriyar, who in addition to the three Tīkṣai mentioned has received anointment (Ācāriya Apiṣēkam). He must be an Āticaivar (below 56 note 4). For further details reference may be made to Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, II, 1,

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(Utsava Pēram). 5. Ceremonies to the ancestors (Cirāttam). 6. Propitiation (Pirāyaccittam.) 7. Restoration (of temples, Jīrṇōttaram). 8. Appeasement (Cānti,[1]) and 9. Gifts (Tāṉam).

Among the chapters thus arranged under suitable headings are some of a more specific character as for example No 75 dealing with the destroying of diseases.

The Kāraṇam, printed in Madras 1921—27, forms a less bulky volume than the Kāmikam. The Pūrvam part of the Kāraṇam comprises 736 pages (8:o) and the Uttaram portion 404 pages, both without any commentary. The Kāraṇam contains all details about the causes (Kāraṇam) for the things to be done (Kāriyam or Kriyā) as prescribed in the other Āgamas, says the preface. Apart from the division of the book into chapters, of which there are 147 in the Pūrvam portion, that portion also has a later division into four parts namely: Karṣaṇam, 53 chapters; Piratiṣṭai, 84 chapters; Utsavam, 6 chapters and Pirāyaccittam 4 chapters. The four terms are explained as follows by the editor, Alakappa Mutaliyār: Karṣaṇam. "This means preparing the ground for Piratiṣṭai (dedication) by ploughing, levelling, measuring and making a square. It further means fixing the Garbha Gṛha (the central shrine) and other places after Vāstu (the house, considered to be a divine being,[2]) has been worshipped and received sacrifice and the Āyāti (Skt. Āyādi)-formulae have been apportioned.[3] Moreover just as life is sound and healthy, when the fields are ploughed and cultivated and their fruits received, it is also so when the Ācāriyar does the same and practises the acts necessary for dedication (Piratiṣṭai) with a view to

10 ff. For Vaiṣṇava ritual see Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 101 ff.

In Vīraśaivism Tīkṣai is given to all at least twice, i.e. at birth and at the age of eight. Śiva who resides in the disciple is extracted by the Guru and given to him in a shape of a Linga, which he is thereafter to worship (Nandinath, A Handbook of Vīraśaivism, 66—73).

Tīkṣai is also used for a time, during which one is "bound" to perform certain rites or ceremonies. It is effected through the tying of Kāppu or Kaṅkaṇam (see below 125). Accordingly Tīkṣai can be removed (Tīkṣai Nivartti).

See also Monier Williams, Brāhmanism and Hindūism, 61, 117, 191, and AC s.v. and particularly Caiva Viṉāviṭai, 28 and 33.

[1] See below 70.

[2] Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, 29 ff.

[3] Formulae of astrological calculation op. cit. Kramrisch, 39.

its (safe) accomplishment. This goes on from the observance of the daily rites (Nityakarmāṉuṣṭāṉam) to the dedication. It remains to make the Linga enter, which is called the Linga Karṣaṇam and to make the other (gods) enter through their respective Karṣaṇam."

Under Karṣaṇam are thus arranged all rites of preparation for the erection of a temple. For a full account it is appropriate to refer to Stella Kramrisch's book, The Hindu Temple. Dr. Kramisch makes use of the Kāmikam from a copy of a manuscript and two other Āgamas but not the Kāraṇam. This is, however, not likely to make any difference in the description of the rites, but a final word on the subject would require a separate investigation. — The rites prescribed under Karṣaṇam comprise the preparation of the ground as well as the ritual preparation of the priest and preliminary worship in temporary shrines till the day comes when the Lord Śiva takes his abode in the place and it becomes ready for dedication.

Piratiṣṭai means 'setting up and making firm and permanent.' The word is usually translated "establishment or installation, dedication or consecration"[1] It refers to the ceremonies through which the god takes his abode in the shrine.[2]

Utsavam is the word generally used for Hindu festivals along with the genuine Tamil expression Tiruviḻā. In the Coimbatore district the pure Tamil word Nōmpu (=fasting) is more common. Another Tamil word in use both among Hindus and Christians is Paṇṭikai (Christmas-Paṇṭikai, Kāman Paṇṭikai, a Hindu spring festival).[3] The editor explains the word Utsavam in this way[4]: Ut=sound and Savam=creation that is creation producing sound... It is not without significance that the word for festival is made to have a connection with creation.

Pirāyaccittam is explained as a means of removing evil and reestablishing godliness (*Keṭutiyai vilakki mīṭṭum taivīkam aṭaiyac*

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[1] Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, 238.

[2] As long as the god is not installed, the building remains profane. The author was allowed to climb the roof of a newly erected temple in the Mathurai district, because there was not yet any idol in the central shrine. Such a privilege could not possibly be granted efter the dedication had taken place.

[3] Natesa Sastri, Hindu Feasts and Ceremonies, 42—49. Cp. Meyer, Trilogie, I 156.

[4] Cp. below 158.

ceytal). It may thus be translated 'expiatory rites'. They are performed on all occasions when for some reason the rituals have not been followed accurately or whenever there is a disturbing influence.

These headings give a clear indication of the contents of the Pūrvam. The Uttaram is said to add some special things necessary for the rites described in the Pūrvam.[1] It does not have any divisions according to subject matter like the Pūrvam, but its chapters follow to a great extent the same lines beginning with the coming into existence of the Āgamas. It contains more rites for the worship prescribed for different months. At the end are added a few pages on a festival to Bhadrakālī and on the dedication of Nāgas (Nākapiratiṣṭai[2]), taken from other Āgamas. It is not said from where.

For the Śiva temples in South India these two, the Kāmikam and the Kāraṇam are the authorities, although many other Āgamas are quoted in the ritual handbooks, of which I shall speak presently. These two Āgamas, as has already been indicated, deal with Kriyā-Pāda only. Copies are rare and difficult to come by. They form bulky volumes and the Cāstrikaḷ and the Paṭṭars (different groups of the temple personnel) will not easily read them. The widow of the editor of the Kāraṇāgama complained to me that all her sons had received English education and did not care for the Āgamas, nor could they read them. Fully conversant with the rituals and the contents of the Āgamas are Śrī Devasigamani Paṭṭar of the Sōmanāta temple at Manamathurai and his two sons, Śrī D. Daksinamurtti and Śrī D. Somasubramaniyar, who have prepared in manuscript accurate drawings of all sacrificial pits, squares and circles (Yākacālai, Vāstukuṇṭam, Maṇṭalam etc.) prescribed for the various rites.

Apart from the oral tradition, through which the rituals have been handed over from one generation to another, accurate knowledge of the rites have been preserved in manuals. They give an abbreviated account of the contents of the Āgamas and are useful for a description of the rites as they are being performed or meant to be performed today. The editor of the Āgamas, Sanmuka Cuntarar has himself produced a kind of brief synopsis of the rites in his book "Sakalākama Săracaṅkraham", for which see above p. 46.

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[1] Kāraṇam, preface.

[2] The serpent gods, dedicated to remove the curse of having no children. See below 254.

A society was formed in 1921 with headquarters at Devakottai, Ramnad district, with the view of publishing 'Civākamaṅkaḷ', a term which here means in the first place manuals with Āgamic contents. The society's name is Civākama Cittānta Paripālaṉa Caṅkam. The first in their series was Śivārcanā Candrikā, which means elucidation on Śiva worship. The word Candrikā means moonlight and at the end of composite words elucidation.[1] It is used in the Kāmikam for the Tamil explanation following the text. The author is Appaya Dīkṣitar, 1552—1624.[2] He lived in a small village near Kancipuram called Ataiyappalam. "At the request of king Pommu of Velur and with the intention of making the result of his birth (Avatāram) useful to the world he wrote many books on Śaivism as a means for giving salvation easily after he had now and then received permission from Lord Śiva in his dreams...".[3] Among those books Śivārcanā Candrikā is one. It teaches Ātmārtta Pūcai [Pūjā (worship) performed privately for one's own benefit, TL]. One will note with interest the expression "means of giving salvation easily (*Ilakuvil muttiyaittaruvatarku upāyamāṉa*) "The purpose as well as the instrument (Upāyam) are clearly stated. — The book has 38 chapters dealing with a number of rites of home ritual as well as temple ritual.

They are more fully dealt with in another book, published by the same society, Śrī Parārtta Nittiya Pūjāviti by Akoracivacariyar, translated into Tamil by K. M. Subramaniyan Śāstri.[4] Other parts of the Āgamic ritual have been collected and arranged by Akoracivacariyar in his work Kriyākrama Jyoti, of which the following parts, published separately, are kept in the British Museum Library: Cupramaṉya Piratiṣṭāviti (rules for the consecration of Subramanyan) forming the 5:th part; Mahōtsavaviti (rules for great festivals) forming the 6:th part and Pirāyaccittaviti (rules for expiatory rites) forming the 7:th part. In addition sections and extracts dealing with various rites are also available. The texts are in Sanskrit although the headings are written in Tamil. Parts 6 and 7 give rituals for various occasions, whereas the Parārtta Nittiya Pūjāviti is written to suit the normal pattern of rituals,

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[1] Apte s.v.
[2] ERE, vol, 11, 95. and Farquhar, Outline, 286.
[3] Śivārcanā Candrikā, preface.
[4] Kumbakonam 1930.

which will suffice for a presentation of the practice in South India to-day.

Worship of Śiva is twofold, viz. Ātmārttam and Parārttam. Ātmārttam is worship to receive benefit for one's own self and Parārttam is worship on behalf of and for the benefit of others.[1] — Ātmārttam which may be performed by anyone who has received Dīkṣā has for its object the Linga received from the Guru at the Dīkṣā ceremony, says Nandinath on Vīra Śaiva practice, or an earthen Linga, i.e. a temporary Linga.[2] Parārttam is worship of other Lingas in temples and other sacred places. — The two terms Ātmārttam and Parārttam do not stand for different sets of rites as for example home rites and temple rites.[3] Ātmārtta worship comprises also worship of temple character and Parārtta worship comprises also rites performed at home according to the daily ritual for the individual, but both orders of worship are meant for people who are entitled to officiate through their initiation, i.e. they must have received Tīkṣai. For Parārttam one must also have been anointed as Ācāriyar and be an Āticaivar.[4]

This is as far as Śaivites are concerned. Vaiṣṇavas make a slightly different distinction between the two. According to Rangachari Svārthayajana (Ātmārtta Pūjā) is "worshipping God in one's own house. Parārthayajana is meant for all people. This is the form of worship that is usually adopted in all temples."[5]

In Akoracivacariyar's book the orders of worship are divided in the two parts Pūrvam and Uttaram, which accordingly here do not

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[1] Akoracivacariyar, Śrī Parārtta Nittiya Pūjāviti, 1.

[2] Nandinath, A handbook of Vīraśaivism, 52. See also Kāmikam, Arcanāvidhi Paṭala, 1—3. (107). — Sanmuka Cuntarar interprets the expression Sthaṇḍilādike of the Kāmikam text as Mirut (earth) Linga and other places. Sthaṇḍilam usually means a piece of ground prepared for sacrifice (Apte).

[3] This is clear from the list of items given in the Śivārcanā Candrikā, stated to be instruction for Ātmārtta Pūjā, e.g. Dvārapālārcanā (worship of the gatekeepers) — Dravyaśuddhi (cleaning the ingredients) — Liṅgaśuddhi (cleaning the Linga) — Śivāsanārcanā (worship of the seat of Śiva) — Naivedyavidhi (rules for offering food etc.), which all correspond to parts of the temple ritual presented by Agh.

[4] Āti-caivar are Śaivite Brāhmans who have descended from the Gotras of the five Ṛṣis: Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Gautama and Agastya, born from the five faces of Sadāśiva (TL).

[5] Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 99.

correspond with the same parts in the Āgamas. Thus Pūrvam contains rules for the personal observances of the Ācāriyar. Uttaram contains similar rituals and then an elaborate account of the temple rituals.

Akoracivacariyar was born in the Cōla kingdom, i.e. the eastern part of the Tamil country. The tradition about him, embedded in a book called Citampara (Chidambara)-Cāram, makes him a disciple of sage Durvāsa (!) and installed by that sage as Ācāriyar at Chidambaram. A number of books go under his name, both philosophical treatises of the Śaiva Siddhānta school and epic works, but he is particularly known for his manuals (Pattati).[1] The year Śaka 1080 is given as the time for the completion of his work Kriyākrama Jōti, which would mean that his lifetime falls in the 12:th century.[2]

Further editions from the Civākama Cittānta Paripālaṉa Caṅkam are: 1) Caivapūṣaṇam (An "Ornament" of Śaivism) by Śrī Pancakara Yoki of Kancipuram, 1925. It is an abbreviation of the Kiriyāpātam.[3] It contains not only temple rituals but also rules for Tīkṣai[4], Ātmārtta Pūcai and rules for Saṃskāras in Sanskrit Slokas with a Tamil commentary. 2) Campupūjāviti by Cupramanya Civacariyar. It contains the same ritual as Śivārcanā Candrikā[5] with some variations.

b. Daily rituals for life at home are found in the books described as parts both of Ātmārtta Pūcai for which the Śivārcanā Candrikā, is an authoritative handbook and of the Parārtta Pūcai as the Ācāriyar's own preparation for Pūcai in the temples in accordance with Akorasivacariyar's teaching. There are many other manuals

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[1] Skt. Paddhati, a word translated by TL, which admittedly represents present-day usage in South India, as: 1. series, row, line, 2. manual of ritualistic rule, 3. road. The word is used of old in a similar manner, but Hillebrandt (Rituallitteratur, 38) translates it "Grundriss" in distinction from Prayoga, which he renders "Manual". The actual usage in S. India warrants the TL interpretation.

The word Prayoga has also now and here (S. India) a place in connection with rituals but in quite a different meaning, viz. as "discharge of weapons, use of means, practice of magic", TL. See below 340, note 4.

[2] Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. II, part 1, 5.

[3] See above 49.

[4] See above 51 note 5.

[5] See above 55.

published for the different sects, e.g.: I. (Vaiṣṇava) 1. Śrīvaiṣṇava Tiṉacari (daily practice) by Śrī Pasyakarar and Śrīmāṉ Nikamanta Mahatecikar, Kumbakonam 1944. 2. Nittiyāṉuṣṭāṉavitiyum Tiruvārātaṉakkiramamum, rules for daily observances and order of service according to the traditions of Śrīmat Purvacariyar, Madras 1927. This contains rules for temple worship as well. 3. "Cantiyāvantaṉa Cantrikā", explanation of morning, midday and evening service ed. by J. S. Venkatarama Sastriar, Madura 1917. II. (Śaiva) Caiva Viṉāviṭai, Śaiva catechism by Arumukanavalar, Madras. By the same author there is a small booklet called Nittiya Karuma Viti rules for daily 'acts' also printed in Madras.

Since 1947 a monthly magazine on Vedic Dharma (Vaitika Tarma Varttiṉi) is being published in Madras. It is a family paper explaining to young and old the details of daily rites as well as the Saṃskāras. It also publishes names of gods used for reading 108, 308 or 1008 times (Aṣṭōttiram, Tiricatai and Cahasra Nāmam) with details of worship. It is of value for the study of present day common Hindu life. This literature builds on the old traditions from the Gṛhya Sūtras in the different shapes they have in the various schools, but their historical and literary connection can not be traced here. References may be made to works by W. Caland and J. Gonda.[1]

c. The astrologers refer to books and calendars, which are printed in great numbers every year. The material, on the basis of which the following observations regarding the place of astrology in daily life of South India today are made, is collected from the set of books available in the Tamil Sangam Library, Mathurai. The books are arranged under the letter H and were in 1953 numbering 149, all in Tamil although some have Sanskrit text as well. A good number of them are translations from Sanskrit. All were printed in the 20th century, 53 of them after 1930. Many have appeared in two or more editions.

Of the 149 books 55 have the word Cōtiṭam in the heading either as the sole title or as part of it, as for example Cōtiṭa Kirakacintāmaṇi. In a similar way 36 books have the word Jātakam. In common speach Cōtiṭam is the more comprehensive word and may

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[1] See particularly Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism.

be translated 'astrology'. Jātakam usually means horoscope. Five of them are called Kaṇitam "den astronomisch-mathematische Zweig, der von der rechnenden Astronomie handelt"[1] according to the division of Varāhamihira, the author of Bṛhatsaṃhitā, "die als eines der wichtigsten Werke der indischen Litteratur bezeichnet werden muss".[1] Bṛhatsaṃhitā is evidently the source of many popular booklets of what one might rightly call applied astrology e.g. Cāmuttirikam, of which we shall speak presently. No. H 92 is recorded as Piruhajjātakam (Bṛhaj-Ljātaka) by Varāhamihira in Tamil translation.

The rest of the books apart from half a dozen of a non-descript character have headings which show their purpose more in detail:
Palatīpikai=the lamp of result (of previous births, knowable through the stars).
Navakirakamahā Mantiram=the great Mantra of the nine planets.
Nimittiyakuṟicāstiram=the science of telling the signs of omens. Kuṟicollutal is an alternate phrase translated by the TL "to tell one's fortune, to divine" but it means here interpreting signs and is also used for the answering of questions by the Kōṭaṅki, a man possessed by a god, serving as a soothsayer.
Kōṭaṅki Mālai Māntirīkam, collection of Mantras for the soothsayer.
Hasta Rēkai=palmistry.
Ārūṭam="rising, mounting". This will require a more lengthy explanation. See the following pages.
Carppa Cāstiram=the science of snakes, which means the appearance of snakes as omens.
Pañca Paṭṣi Cāstiram=the science of the five birds, which is explained along with the Ārūṭam.
Cāmuttirikam=interpretation of moles and marks on the body. Samudra is considered to be the originator of this wisdom, which is otherwise called 'Narastrīlakṣaṇa'[2] and for that reason is called

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[1] Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur, vol. III, 567. — Varāhamihira divides astrology into three parts: Tantra (or Kaṇitam), Horoscopy and a third branch which is "something different" (Bṛhat Saṃhitā I:9). It is usually called Śākhā (branch) simply. (Winternitz, op. cit. 567).

[2] Meaning 'the qualities of men and women'.

'Sāmudram' or 'Sāmudrikam'.[1] In the Bṛhatsaṃhitā chapter 68 deals with man and chapter 70 with woman.[2]

Pirayāṇa Cakuna Cāstiram=the science of auspicious and inauspicious times for journeys.

Ciṟpa Cāstiram=the science of architecture, which here means finding a 'good' ground, placing beams, knowing the good and the evil of the month for that purpose etc...

Kevuḷi Cāstiram=the science about lizards. One must note the direction, the time of the day and the day of the week, when the lizards chirp or fall and refer to these books for interpretation.[3]

Toṭukuṟi Cāstiram=the science of touching marks, i.e. letting a child touch a number on tables of figures and reading a corresponding Sloka to find good or bad luck.

Pālakiraka Tōṣam=the evil influence of planets on small children. This booklet of 24 pages was reprinted in 1947 and was available in the leading bookshop at Mathurai in 1953.

Special mention may be made of the critical edition of Saptarṣi Nāḍi from the Gov. Oriental Manuscripts' Library, Madras, beginning with the Meṣalagnam (the Ilakkiṉam, Skt. Lagna=the rising, of Aries in the Zodiac) by prof. K. Natesan. The first volume has 904 pages, and 11 more volumes of the same kind are to follow. It is characterised as "the quintessence of the Jyotiṣa Śāstra in practice".[4]

d. The kind of literature which I propose to present under the heading 'Māntirīkam' is much allied to the books introduced in the list from the Tamil Sangam Library. Some examples will have to be given with full description, but that is better done when their contents is being scrutinized. I therefore confine myself here to a reference to chapter Māntirīkam, where eight of these booklets will be taken up for scrutiny.

Books on Ārūṭam are also common. I have two books, printed in 1948. The meaning 'mounted, ascended' refers especially to the planet in the Zodiac. Accordingly the TL gives a secondary meaning

[1] Apte wrongly: "Science of palmistry".

[2] Cp. Meyer, Die menschlichen Körperteile in ihrer Bedeutung für Schicksal und Character, 110.

[3] A similar book on the science of lizards is in the India Office Library, London: Kevuḷi Cāstiram by Kantacami Mutaliyār, Palni, 1927.

[4] Saptarṣi Nāḍi, Meṣalagnam, critically edited with introduction and notes by prof. K. Natesan, Madras, 1951, X. — Vol. II, Vṛṣabhalagnam, was published in 1953.

in Tamil '*Kēṭpōnatu irācinilaikoṇṭu niṉaitta kāriyam kūṟum cōtiṭam*', =the Cōtiṭam which explains what the inquirer is thinking of with the help of his sign of the Zodiac. The English equivalent given by the TL is simply 'horary astrology'. In popular handbooks the application of the term is widened further. I take as an example Aṣṭa Tikku Ārūṭam, printed from cadjan leaves in Madras 1948. The book contains five chapters: I. the Ārūṭam of the eight directions, II. the Ārūṭam of the five birds, III. the Āñcaṉēyar Ārūṭam, IV. the Jeyamuṉivar Ārūṭam and V. the Vālmīkar Ārūṭam. The chapters vary considerably in length. The number of their pages is: I 7—46, II 47—54, III 55—65, IV 66—97 and V. 98—108.

The first chapter opens up with a diagram, showing the Zodiac with the presiding deities of the directions, Aṣṭa Tikku Taivaṅkaḷ, viz. Kubera, north, comprising the Caper and the Amphora; Īcāṉaṉ, north-east, comprising the Pisces; Indra, east, comprising the Aries and the Taurus; Akkiṉi (Agni), southeast, comprising the Gemini; Yamaṉ, south, comprising the Cancer and the Leo; Niruti (Nirṛti), south-west, comprising the Virgo; Varuṇaṉ, west, comprising the Libra and the Scorpio; Vāyu, north-west, comprising the Arcitenens.

"When somebody comes asking for Ārūṭam, one must observe the direction from which he comes[1] in relation to this Zodiac and also note the watch (Yāmam, a period of three hours, four watches being reckoned to the day and four to the night) and the day of the week. Then one should read the verse given against the position according to the following list and tell him the result to his satisfaction" (p. 7). — For each day of the week 32 verses are given, one for each of the eight directions during the four Yāmams. Only day time is taken into account. This is an example: "Happiness without defect! What you have aimed at will gain victory. A coveted friendship of a great man will be yours, and important gain will follow as it does upon a Guru's word. This is the Ārūṭam of the first watch to him that comes from east on a Friday."

The Ārūṭam of the five birds is explained in a chart inserted as a separate sheet in the book. The 27 lunar asterisms are divided among the five birds, viz. the falcon (Vallūṟu), the owl (Āntai),

[1] Cp. Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, LI, translated by H. Kern, vol. II, 5: "The soothsayer must tell a consulting person's fortune by observing the latter's direction ...".

the peacock (Mayil), the crow (Kākam) and the fowl (Kōḻi). Each bird has five works (Toḻil), viz. Ūṇ (food), Aracu (government), Naṭai (walking), Tuyil (sleep) and Cāvu (death). On separate time tables you find what 'work' your bird is doing during any of the five watches.[1] The days of the week are also divided into five groups, Sunday and Tuesday going together and Monday and Wednesday. There are four tables, one for day time and one for night time, for each of the two halves of the month. There will thus be 20 different results (Palaṉ) for every month. — The time for the different Toḻil varies in length. Food has 1¼ Nāḻikai (=24 minutes), government has 2, walking 1½ and the inauspicious sleep and death ¾ and ½ respectively.

The Jeyamuṉivar Ārūṭam gives four results, one for each Yāmam for every figure of the Zodiac. With the help of a chart the inquirer's position is fixed according to its direction, and the different directions are noted in a chart showing the Zodiac. His 'verse' can then be found.

Vālmīkar Ārūṭam is very simple. It enumerates 30 questions to be answered, for example: "Will it rain today or not? Will the expected child be a boy or a girl? Is it good or bad to build the house?" The inquirer touches a number, and the answer is given.

Āñcanēyar Ārūṭam. The result (Palaṉ) of the day is the same on all the seven week days, but it varies according to the 60 Nāḻikai and therefore we find 60 verses giving the answers. — No 1 promises wealth and employment, No 3 help from the king, health etc. — Nos 2 and 5 are medium (Mattiyam) with regard to the result. No 8 advices Pūcai (worship) to the Kulataivam (family god) to avert calamity. No 10 is bad: "The skin disease will not heal through medicine". — The Nāḻikais during the night seem to be less favourable, but No 9 is good.

Another book on Ārūṭam, Śrī Kaṇēca Ārūṭa Tīpikai, by V. Kannaia Nayutu, consists of 225 small poems predicting things for the inquirer. The method is very simple: "Give a bath to a child and perform Ārātaṉai[2] by burning camphor in front of it.

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[1] The time of a day and a night is divided into 60 Nāḻikai of 24 minutes each. The same period is also divided into ten watches (Yāmam), five for the day and five for the night. Each watch covers 6 Nāḻikai.

[2] Here the same as Āratti (Skt. Ā-rati, cp. Ārātrikam (Apte))=waving a light in front of an idol or a person (TL).

Give a flower in its hand and make it touch one of the letters in the attached Cakkaram.[1] Then look at the number printed on top of the letter and read the corresponding poem and you will know 'profiṭ and loss' (Palāpalaṅkaḷ).

e. Most temples of repute in South India have a local legend or sacred story attached to them (Stalapurāṇam).[2] In some cases they are literary achievements, in many cases they are stories made up to a sacred pattern.[3] They are nowadays being printed, sometimes with practical information about the temple attached so as to form handbooks for pilgrims. To the Cōmacuntara (=Śiva)-Mīṉākṣi (the fisheyed goddess[4]) temple at Mathurai is related the famous Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam (Tiruviḷaiyāṭal=the sacred sports [of Śiva]), which is a poetic rendering in Tamil by Paranjoti Munivar of the Hālāsyamāhātmya in Sanskrit, a part of the Skandapurāṇa. The old Tiruviḷaiyāṭal is, however, another work, translated from a part of the Uttaramakāpurāṇam (now extinct) by "Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr" Nampi.[5] The editor, V. Saminataiyar, mentions three more chronicles (Varalāṟu) for the temple. The Devastanam has recently (1951) published in Tamil prose a new translation of the Hālāsyamāhātmiyam under the name Tiru Ālavāy or Mathurai Māṉmiyam (=The glory of Mathurai, the sacred Ālavāy, an old name for Mathurai as encircled by a serpent). It differs in certain respect from an old prose rendering of Paranjoti's work by Arumukanavalar. The new translation contains an interesting exposition in two chapters on Cōmavāranōmpunōṟṟal (The practice of

[1] "... engraved magic circles on amulets, mystical diagrams for counteracting evil influence" (TL). See further below 275.

[2] See Wilson, A descriptive catalogue, 128. The Machenzie collection has 122 such Sthala Purāṇas under the heading Māhātmyas from many places in the Tamil and Telugu countries. Many accounts of local temples are among the 300 and odd Tamil books enumerated on 417—434. Cp. p. 64 n. 2.

[3] "How one wishes that our Sthala Purāṇas were written by men who had more confidence in truth and depended less on pious propaganda" C. Rajagopalachari in the foreword to Thirumalirunjolaimalai, the Sthala Purāṇa of Alakarkovil by Radha Krishna.

[4] Brown, The name of the goddess Mīṉākṣī.

[5] Here lies the answer to the question raised by Caland if B. Ziegenbalg had "eine abweichende Rezension". Caland, Ziegenbalgs Malabarisches Heidentum, 253. See Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam, edited by Saminataiyar, 6—7.

Monday fasting), a fasting, said to have been undertaken by the king Ukkirapāṇṭiyaṉ, whereby he received all sorts of wealth (Celvaṅkaḷaṉaittum).[1] Pictures of Śiva's 64 "plays" are painted on the walls on two sides of the Golden Lily Tank in the Mīṉākṣi temple. Similar reproductions are found in a rare book by E. A. Rodrigues.[2]

The Stalapurāṇam of Alakarkovil (Mathurai district), "Tirumāliruñjōlaimalai" goes under the name of Śrī Vṛṣabhādri Māhātmyam and is published by K. N. Radha Krishna in a commendable manner with a Tamil translation and much useful information about this old shrine. From the same temple is also available an instruction for the temple personnel, the Toḻil and Cutantira Aṭṭavaṇai, dated 26-6-1803, printed 1937. It contains a list of all parts of the temple service falling upon the different Paṭṭars and other temple attendants to perform.

The Cētu Mahā Purāṇam for Ramesvaram is a collection of details from various Sanskrit sources made by Siva Ramanatan and written in Tamil prose, published 1949. For Kumbakonam there is a similar edition based on the Kuṭantai Purāṇam, published 1932. To the list may be added the Vēṅkaṭācala Māhātmiyam for Tirupati, Vīrarākavar Mahimai for Tiruvallur. Kaṭōrakiri for Piranmalai, Ramnad district, and Stalapurāṇam for Palni, Coimbatore (the goddess Kōṉiyammaṉ), "Kuṟṟālam", Tiriccirapalli, Sirkali, Srivilliputtur etc...[3]

From these books may be culled many pieces of relevant information on local practices. Their aim is to extol the fame of the

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[1] Tiru Ālavāy, 78.

[2] Rodrigues, The complete Hindoo Pantheon with a history and description of the idols. With 64 plates, 133—212. The 64 "sacred amusements" of Śiva are retold from a translation taken from William Taylor, Oriental Historical Manuscripts, vol. I. William Taylor, a missionary in Madras, in his turn most probably builds on copies found in the collection of Colin Mackenzie, who collected many manuscripts and also lived a considerable time at Mathurai. At the request of the Calcutta branch of the Oriental Society William Taylor worked on this collection. See Wilson, A descriptive catalogue, XV.

The plates in Rodrigues's work are secured from traditional drawings and nicely hand-painted.

[3] A similar book is referred to by Frazer (ERE, V, 23) as Tiruvāthav Ūrar Purāṇam, which narrates the lifestory of Māṇikka Vācakar. Tiruvatavur, a place with a famous temple in the Mathurai district was his birthplace.

temples, and therefore a peculiar aspect of instrument and result is often evident. As e.g. in the small booklet concerning the Tiricirāmalai (Tiriccirapalli) temple it is said on page 8: "The bliss one obtains by being born at Tiruvarur (a holy place in the Tanjore district) is easily obtained here. Sins which one has committed knowingly or unknowingly will disappear (Tīrum). The saint Appar said: 'If one pronounces the name of this place devoutly, evil deeds will go away (*Tīviṉai Nīṅkum*)'".

Chapter III

RITES AND RITUALS

A. Rites in the regular course of life

With the sources of knowledge mentioned above now at hand we approach life in South India of to-day and look for rites and rituals. The following subheadings present themselves rather naturally[1]:

I. The regular course of life.
 The day at home.
 The day in the temple.
 The week, month and year.
 The cycle of life.

II. Times of crisis.

Temple worship is taken to mean rituals and rites followed and performed at all public cult-places including the big temples of the established sects, i.e. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava, as well as small shrines, places of pilgrimage and sacred places of all kind even temporary, but not rites performed at home or in connection with the life of the family, the cycle of life of the individual and the rites connected with agriculture and other means of living and sustenance, even if the latter ceremonies imply a visit to the temple as sometimes happens. The ritual of the temples is mainly Āgamic and that of the home is mainly Vedic. Thereby nothing is said about the ultimate origin of the Āgamic rites nor of the question whether Pūjā has developed from the Vedic Yajña or is of non-aryan origin.[2]

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[1] Compare to some extent the list of contents in Stevenson's The rites of the Twiceborn.

[2] See Thieme: Indische Wörter und Sitten, ZDMG NF, 18, 105, where the interpretation of Charpentier in his Über den Begriff und die Ety-

a. THE DAY AT HOME

1. Śaiva ritual

For the daily rites we turn first to Akoracivacariyar (=Agh.). The first part of his book, the Pūrvam, is a manual of daily rites at home and contains the following items:

1. The qualities of an Ācariyar (Ācāriya Ilakkaṇam).

He must know the scriptures, the hand-postures, the acts of worship (Kiriyai), be of good conduct, bear a good character, bodily be of perfect shape, be married and be an Āticaivar.[1]

2. Daybreak meditation (Vaikaṟaitiyāṉam). The Ācāriyar must rise at daybreak, sit in the Cukācaṉam position[2] facing north and think of his Guru and of Śiva, the greatest thing (Civaparamaporuḷ), imagine a union between the Guru and Śiva and between himself and Śiva. He should respectfully greet them (Vaṇaṅki), put on sacred ashes, sing praise to Śiva's name (Civa Nāma Caṅkīrttaṉam) and covering his head with his clothes take a stick, and a box (for carrying his clothes etc.) a waterpot and a grain of rice and go outside the village.

3. Rules for moving the bowels and passing urine (Malajalaṅkaḻikkum viti).

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mologie von Pūjā, Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, 276 ff., is declined. — Thieme takes the word Pūjā to mean "(einen Gast) durch gastliche Aufnahme ehren, (einen Gott) als Gast ehren, (als göttliche Wesen verehrte Gegenstände: Waffen usw.) durch Blumen, Wohlgerüche, Schmuck usw. verehren". In as much as it is almost compulsory for a host to offer his guest turmeric paste for smearing his hands, arms and neck, Thieme's interpretation may well be derived from the original meaning of 'smearing', as Charpentier understands it. This is even more likely with regard to the last usage mentioned by Thieme. It is a universal custom in South India during the festival called Āyuta Pūcai (worship of the tools, see below 170) to treat weapons and tools reverentially with offerings of "Blumen und Wohlgerüche", but they are first of all smeared with saffron and turmeric. "Als Gast ehren" may be derived from the custom of applying the auspicious and protective paste.

The word Pūcai-Pūjā has been further dealt with by Burrow, Some Dravidian words in Sanskrit, London, 1946. Cp. L'Inde classique I, §§ 1178—80.

With regard to the arguments of Mr. Thieme one may also suggest a reference to the ritual handbooks in addition to Dubois's description.

[1] See above 56, note 4.

[2] One of the Yogic postures. See TL under Ācaṉam and Lindquist, Die Methoden des Yoga, 35—36.

Places are enumerated where he should not answer the call of nature. Before doing so he must ask forbearance of the gods, who rule the nine continents. The sacred thread must hang on his right ear and he must clap his hands and utter the Astira Mantra.[1] He is also instructed to face north in the morning and south in the night (probably in order to always have the sun on his right hand, because the left is used for cleaning).

4. Cleaning (Caucaviti). He must clean himself with water and soil taking with his right hand as much as a grain of rice of pure soil seven times. He finally gargles seven times and performs Ācamaṇam[2] wearing the sacred thread in its right place (i.e. over his left shoulder).

5. Teethcleaning (Tantacutti). Various trees, the twigs of which can be used, are mentioned in a quotation from Kāraṇākamam. On Pitiru-days (days on which oblations are offered to the manes) new moon day, Viyatīpātam (one of the 27 Yogas or junctions through which the moon passes) or days of death of parents he must not use any twig but only mango leaves. While cleaning his teeth he must gargle seven times and perform Ācamaṇam.

6. Prayer to Pairavar (Bhairava[3]) at bathing time.

Facing east or north he should put on Pavitra[4] and make a vow (Caṅkarpam) and then perform Pirāṇāyāmam[4b] and address Pairavar saying: "O Thou, who hast a big body very terrible in form ... graciously grant me permission". Having received permission he must ask Varuṇa, the lord of water, for permission to bathe and then stand in the river, pray to the sacred rivers, Ganges, Yamuna, Godavari etc. and ask them to be present in the water (Cānnittiyam[5]). Bathing in a tank he must face the sun, in a river the stream and in a well north.

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[1] Skt. Astra, missile or weapon in general (Apte). The Mantra is a protection against evil powers, It reads: Astrāya Namaḥ (Nittiyakarumaviti, 8).

[2] Sipping water while uttering Mantras. See item no. 10, below 72. Cp. below 90, note 1.

[3] Bhairava, Śiva's servant or a manifestation of Śiva for chastising Dakṣa and Viṣṇu. He has a dog as his mount (Vākaṇam). For a picture see Thomas, Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners, plate VII. See below 143, note 1.

[4] "Ring of Darbha grass worn on the fourth finger of the right hand on religious occasions" TL. Its significance is in Tamil expressed with the word Kāppu, for which see below 252. [4b] See below 71, n. 4

[5] Skt. Sānnidhya=vicinity or presence (Apte) but in Tamil manifestation of a deity (TL).

7. Earth-bath (Miruttikāsnāṇam). He should take as much earth as the size of a Nārattam fruit[1] and while uttering the Astira Mantra make three parts of it and consecrate them with the following Tatva Mantras[2]: "*Ōm ham ātmātattuvāya namaḥ; Ōm ham vityātatvāya namaḥ; Ōm ham civatatvāya namaḥ*". Then he should smear his body with one part pronouncing the Mūla Mantra (the original or basic Mantra=Namacivāya), at the same time and then his hands and feet with the other part pronouncing the Astira Mantra, then mix some water, say the Mūla Mantra, perform the Kumpa Muttirai (Mudrā[3]) and bathe in that way.

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[1] Nardostachus jatamansi, but prob. Nārattai=citrus aurantium.

[2] Mantirattāl Apimantiri, which is different from Mantirattai Uccarittal =uttering Mantras. — Tattuva (Skt. Tattva or Tatva)=essential nature of things, category, a true or first principle. Cp. Apte s.v. and Paranjoti. Śaiva Siddhānta, 110 ff. See below 73, note 1.

[3] Muttirai, Skt. Mudrā. "Name of certain position of the fingers practised in devotion or religious worship" (Apte s.v.). Banerjea says: "Indicate some action, in which the god or his accesory is shown as engaged. The action consists in the expression of an idea by means of a particular gesture" (The Development of Hindu Iconography, 269. According to R. K. Poduval: Mudrās in art, quoted by Banerjea, three broad divisions of Mudrās can be distinguished Vaidic, Tantric and Laukik. The same author gives the number to Tantric Mudrās as 108. Przyluski (IC II 715) says that 24 Mudrās are performed daily in the Sandhyā ceremonies. That number agrees with Akoracivacariyar, where I have found 24 Mudrās prescribed. The Karaṇākamam, however, has 32 (Uttaram chapter 11), but only about one third of the Mudrās from Akoracivacariyar can be found among them. Of the eight Tantric Mudrās mentioned by Stevenson (op. cit. 224) only the Yōṇi Mudrā is found with Akoracivacariyar and only the Surabhi-Mudrā in the Kāraṇam.

Mudrā is one of the five M:s of the Vāma Mārgi, the left-handist (Stevenson, 419), or in Tantric cult in general (Chintakaran Chakravarti: Kulārṇava Tantra, in ABORI vol. XIII, 208). About these five, Madya, Māṃsa, Matsya, Mudrā and Maithuna — except for the interpretation of Mudrā as "eating of parched or fried grain", which is refuted by Charpentier as "pure invention" (BSOAS, vol. VII, 671) — see Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 192.

Within Śaivism the following groups of Mudrās are given: General, Śaiva, Gaṇapati, Śākta, Gāyatrī, Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Śiva and Mudrā for the close of the worship and Pañca Mudrās for Namaskāra (greeting) (S. Srikantha Sastri: Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra in QJMS, vol. 35, 12).

Przyluski says the word 'Mudrā' means 1. seal, 2. mode of holding fingers, 3. female consort, and gives the original meaning as 'manifestation of magical efficacy' (IC II 718).

8. Astira Cānti.[1] Meditation on Astiratēvar, "who has the form of a trident (although Skt. Astra means missile, arrow) and holds

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Lindquist has a statement: "Die vielen Āsanas und Mudrās des Hāṭhayoga enthalten oft derartige Krampfstellungen, welche man nach dem imvorhergehenden Gesagten verstehen müsste" (Die Methoden des Yoga, 35), which has induced Betty Heimann to opposition and declaring "Mudrās are deliberate symbolic expressions" (JRAS 1939, 656) She is, however, hardly right in deducing a general opinion on Mudrās from Lindquist's treatment of the Haṭhayoga.

Further light on the Mudrās may be had from Tyra de Kleen in her book: The ritual handposes of the Buddha priests and the Shiva priests of Bali, with 60 full-page drawings by the Author. "The Mudrā is the physical presentment of some Mantra or magic formula, which is first recalled by the mind and articulated by the mouth" (11) "... Mantras, at the same time accompanying the sound by imitating the corresponding Sanskrit characters with their fingers, thus sealing the magic" (17). "Hindu priests came from India to Bali" (20) The first 30 Mudrās are Buddhist, the last 30 Śaivite.

Naidu speaks approvingly of Kleen's (writing her name 'de Kleen' is probably due to Dutch influence) book as distinguishing between Hasta (hand or arm) and Mudrā. Naidu, Hastas, NIA, vol. I, 346.

In our language Mudrās are instruments with a set purpose for each according to its place in the order of the ritual used especially in the rite of Niyācam for assigning a deity. See below 78. Its use is sometimes indicated by its name as for example Linga Mudrā, which is obviously involving a reference to the Linga, Namaskāra Mudrā, which means a gesture of greeting. Cp also Surabhi Mudrā, which means arranging the ten fingers so as to form four tips symbolizing the four teats of the cow (Surabhi), Nittiyanuṣṭāṇaviti, 15.

Of interest is the phrase used by Agh. (32), 'Muttirai Camarppital' = to offer a Mudrā. This is probably a late conception due to ritual routine.

On their significance see further Woodroffe, Introduction to Tantra Shāstras, 93—94.

For Iconography see Tyra de Kleen, op. cit. and Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, 1, 14.

Hereafter the Mudrās will be treated as proper names without further explanation.

[1] Cānti (Skt. Śānti) here means propitiation or propitiatory rites. It occurs frequently in the rituals as a composite term, Kiraka (planet)-Cānti, Carppa (serpent)-Cānti, Rutu (season)-Cānti etc. meaning a ceremony of appeasement with the thing to be checked and turned into a favourable condition as the first half of the component. With Hoens (Śānti, a contribution to ancient Indian religious terminology, 182—83.) one could use the words appeasement and ceremony of appeasing instead of propitiation, but it is doubtful if Cānti can be distinguished from Prāyaścitta (=propitiation) in present day usage.

Astiratēvar is "the deified weapon of a deity taken round the streets during

the crescent moon and the Ganges in his tresses and in his hands the black antilope and the Ṭaṅka (hatchet), who has one hand in the Apaya position (protection) and one hand on his thigh". The trident is conceived to have the iconographic features of Śiva.[1] Performing Ācamaṇam and uttering the Astira Mantra one should draw a quadrangular figure as it were right in the water (*Jala-mattiyattil*) and in the middle of the figure the. Māyāpījam[2] and the Varuṇapījam, and with the Astira Mantra sprinkle water (Purōkṣi) three times and with the Astira Mantra purify that which controls the Prāṇas ("vital forces of the body[3]) and the limbs (*Prāṇāyāmaṅ*[4] *karacutti aṅkacuttikaḷaic cey*). With his right hand he takes water and places it in his left hand and drinks it at the same time uttering the Tatva Mantra and the Astira Mantra. He must do it three times. Afterwards he must sprinkle water seven times on his head with the Astira Mantra and throw the remaining water with his right hand on all four sides uttering the Kavaca- (armour) Mantra and the Astira Mantra; then meditate on the Astiramūrtti (the idol of Astira) and give three Arkyaṅkaḷ[5] uttering the Astira Mantra.

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festivals a short time before the deity of the temple starts out in procession" (TL). It plays a part in the daily ritual as well as a ceremony of protection.

[1] See Jouveau-Dubreuil, Iconographie du Sud de l'Inde, 21 and Gopinatha Rao, op. cit. vol. II, part 1, 200.

[2] Pījam or Pīsam (Skt. Bīja) "the mystic letter or syllable which forms the essential part of a Mantra", TL. The most important part of a Sādhana, by which a god is rendered visible (Cp De la Vallée Poussin, ERE, vol. 12, p. 195.)."The seed of the fruit which is Siddhi", Woodroffe, Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, 86.

They are monosyllables containing the essence of a Mantra, and as the Mantras represent the gods, these utterances of the type Hum, Him Ham, Hrīm etc. bring about the presence of the gods or what they stand for as for exemple the Varuṇa Bīja. Cp. below 288, note 1 and also l'Inde classique I, 567.

[3] For Prāṇas see Müller, Grundlagen altindischer Medizin, 57.

[4] Pirāṇāyāmam is "control of Prāṇas or the vital forces of the body by regulation of breath of three modes", TL. They are Pūrakam=drawing in breath, Kumpakam=holding in the breath and Rēcakam=expelling the breath. See further Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 402. Cp also Lindquist, Die Methoden des Yoga, 39 and 55.

[5] Skt. Arghya, "a respectful offering to the gods", Apte. In practice it means water offered for the washing of hands along with Ācamaṇīyam, for sipping, and Pāttiyam for the washing of feet. See below 90, note 1.

9. Tbe order of Vitisnāṉam instructs the worshipper to enter the water up to the navel and taking the remaining mud to consecrate it with Camhita Mantiraṅkaḷ[1], to divide it into three parts, and having it in his left hand to consecrate the mud in the eastern direction with the Astira Mantra; in the southern direction with the the Five Brahma Mantras (Pañcapirama Mantiram) and in the north with the Mūla Mantra. Then he performs Tikkupantaṉam[2] with the mud consecrated with the Astira Mantra, dissolves the mud consecrated with the Mūla Mantra in water and considers it as Civatīrttam (water sacred through connection with Śiva), and then he smears his own body with the mud consecrated with the Pañcapirama Mantiram and purifies it with the Akamarṣaṇam[3] and other Mantras pronouncing also the Pījākkaram: "Ōm Krōm"; performing the Aṅkuca Mudrā he draws the Yantra[4] called Śrīpātukā,[5] and bathes.

10. Ācamaṉam, the order prescribed for 'sipping water'. Keeping his hands between his knees he sips water. He must take only as much as a black gram seed. If he takes more or less it will be like drinking toddy.[6] The three Tatva Mantras should be said (Āṉmā-

[1] See below 79.

[2] Tikkupantaṉam, Skt. Dik of Diś. "Fortifying oneself on all sides by incantations invoking the protection of the tutelary deities of the eight quarters", TL. Literally it means 'binding the directions' and the meaning of the ceremony is to obtain protection from disturbances from any quarter. For the tutelary deities or watchmen of the quarters (Dikpālar) see Glasenapp, Der Hinduismus, 114 and for their iconography Jouveau-Dubreuil, Iconographie, 116.

[3] Skt. Agha-Marṣaṇa, a sin-annihilating ceremony, Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 404. See also Stevenson, Rites of the Twiceborn, 220. — It is a general expiatory rite for all sins. Ref. Ṙg. X: 190,1—3, Pandurang Vaman Kane, History of Dharma Śāstra, vol. IV, chapter 5.

[4] "Diagrams for magical incantations", TL. They have their place in all Tantric and Āgamic rituals. See Woodroffe, Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, 92—93. Cp. Indian and Sinhalese art and archeology in the Encyclopedia Brittanica and Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 203. For a full account see below 275, note 1.

[5] Skt. Pādukā, sandals. Cp. Pātukācitti, "the power of passing over water at will" (TL).

[6] Just that much is scooped up, if the hand is formed like a cow's ear, says Sanmukacuntarar (Śrīmat Sakalākamasāra Saṅkraham, introduction, 11.) This is probably a rationalistic explanation of a Mudrā accompanying the sipping of water. See Vaikhānasasmārta Sūtra, Praśna I, Khaṇḍa 2 (Caland's ed. 1929.).

Vittiyā- and Civatatva.[1] The different parts of the body are touched and appropriate Mantras said. — In many details the ritual agrees with what Mrs. Stevenson describes[2] including the 'cow's ear position' of the hand to scoop up just the correct amount of water. 11. Offerings (Tarppaṇam[3]) to gods, Ṛṣis and manes (Pitṛ). Pronouncing the Mūla Mantra he should say: "Ōm Pūḥ' I offer libation to the gods, 'Ōm Svar' I offer libation to the gods, 'Ōm Pūrpuvasvar'[4] I offer libation to the gods", and then in the same way to the Ṛṣis: "Ōm Pūḥ' etc." and finally to the manes: "Ōm Pūḥ' etc." only arranging the sacred thread differently every time. 12. Yakṣma[5] Tarppaṇam. Repeating a Mantra, which regrets the contamination of the water through dirt from his body, he pours water on the shore saying: "I offer this cool water to satisfy my ancestors who live in creepers, trees and shrubs. May those who were born in this Kula (family) and those born in my Gotra, (lineage[6]) who died without the blessings of sons accept this water wrung from my hair and clothes", and comes ashore. It is added that according to the Pīma (Bhīma) Saṃhitā[7] he must have two pieces of clothes and not only one, otherwise he loses the Snāṉapalaṉ

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[1] Āṉmā, Vittyā (Skt. Vidyā) and Civa stand for the three groups of Tatvas, pure, mixed and impure (Cutta, Cuttācutta and Acutta. Cp. Schomerus, Der Śaiva Siddhānta, 134. Schomerus speaks of this as a popular division. The Mantras are quoted above 69.

[2] Stevenson, Rites of the Twiceborn, 216.

[3] Skt. Tarpaṇa, "libation of water to gods, Ṛṣis and manes", TL. Cp. Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 409, where the ceremony is more elaborate, just as Stevenson says op. cit. 229, but neither of them gives the Mantras, as it is done here.

[4] Skt. Bhūr, Bhuvaḥ, Svar, the three Vyāhṛtis meaning earth, atmosphere and heaven which are uttered to "induce purity of thought", Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 403.

[5] Skt. Yakṣma. This word occurs frequently in the AV but is left untranslated by Whitney (See Atharva Veda Saṃhitā, translated by Whitney), e.g. AV 9, 8, 3b; 12, 2, 2c etc. It has evidently to do with diseases: "The Yakṣma that creeps along the thighs" (AV, 9, 8, 7). — Apte translates it 'pulmonary diseases in general', s.v. — Müller says: "Ein zumeist in RV erwähnter Krankheitsdämon" (Grundlagen altindischer Medizin, 11). A similar meaning applies here.

[6] A reference may be made to Brough, Early Brahmanical system of Gotra and Pravara, a translation of the Gotra-pravara-mañjari of Purushottama Pandit with an introduction.

[7] Skt. Bhīma S., considered to be an Āgama. Further details not known.

(the effect of the bath). Those who cannot bathe in water are recommended another of the ten baths prescribed by Yājñavalkya (says Agh.). They are: cow's urine, cow dung, milk, curd, ghee, Darbha grass, sacred ashes, earth, water and Mantra.

13. Applying sacred ashes.[1] (Tiruniṟu Tarittal). He takes ashes consecrated with the Camhita Mantra with his right hand and places it in his left and performs 'the binding of the cardinal points' (Tikkupantaṉam), Amirutīkaraṇam (making nectar) and the five purifications beginning with the Nirīkṣaṇam[2] and traces the Māyā Pījam (one of the "seed-syllables") in the middle portion of the ashes and draws a triangle all around it, covers the ashes with his right hand, consecrates it with the Basic (Mūla) Mantra and meditates

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[1] Cp. Bhasma, Stevenson, Rites of the Twiceborn, 216 and Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 400.

[2] The five purification ceremonies (Aintu Cuttikaḷ) are

1. Nirīkṣaṇam, Skt. Nir-īkṣaṇa, "a ritual in daily ablutions by which purification is effected by the imagined flow of nectar from one's left eye", TL. "...the thing to be offered is burnt by the sight of the right eye", says Devasigamani Paṭṭar the head of the Cōmanātaṉ temple, Manamathurai.
2. Purōkṣaṇam, Skt. Prokṣaṇa, "sprinkling of water in consecration", TL "By uttering the Prokṣaṇa Mantra the very same thing is made wet by the sight of the left eye", (Devasigamani Paṭṭar).
3. Tāṭaṇam, Skt. Tāḍana, "beating," TL, but also tapping. There are references to the art of dancing as well as to erotics. "Tāṭaṇam is only a gesture (Pāvittu) of tapping the thing with the index finger of the right hand bringing the thumb and the other three fingers together thereby giving life to the thing uttering the usual Mantra", (Devasigamani P.)
4. Apyukṣaṇam, Skt. Abhyukṣaṇa, "consecration by sprinkling", Apte. See below 77. "... the thing is made fit as an offering to God", (Devasigamani P.)
5. Avakuṇṭaṇam, Skt. Avaguṇṭhana, "covering", TL, "veiling", Apte. See bel. 76. Devasigamani Paṭṭar has instead of Avakuṇṭaṇam as the fifth ceremony the Amirutīkaraṇam (Skt. Amṛta), which means making ambrosia. Devasigamani describes the ceremony in the following way: "From the spot between the eyebrows (Pintustāṉam) one must draw the ambrosia with the Heart Mantra having first shown the Aṅkuca Mudrā and then join it with the holy water of Śiva by means of the Cow (Dhenu) Mudrā".

According to Agh, 9, however, Amirutīkaraṇam is separate from the five purification ceremonies, but Avakuṇṭaṇam also occurs in the middle of the Amirutīkaraṇam. See below 76. Preference must be made to the statement of the experienced temple priest and accordingly the five purificatory ceremonies destroy and create afresh the things that are to be offered making them divine elements. It is all done by Śiva himself in the shape of the Ācāriyar. The ceremony occurs frequently. Cp below 105.

on Ruttiraṉ (Rudra). — The meditation, Tiyāṉam (Skt. Dhyāna), consists in picturing mentally before one's eyes the icongraphic representation of the deity: "Thou who art having three eyes, three legs adorned with the blood garland etc.". — Instructions follow to throw some of it in the direction of south-west as a part due to the Rākṣasas (demons) and how to and when to apply it to one's body.

Some items like Kāyatrijapam (chanting the Gāyatrī[1]) and Upastāṉam[2] are just mentioned without any details.[3]

14. Hand Niyācam (Skt. Nyāsa). Apte gives for the word the following explanation: "Assignment of the various parts of the body to different deities, which is usually accompanied with prayer and corresponding gesticulations".[4] It is more correct to interpret the Nyāsa as assigment of the various gods to the parts of the body.[5]

Hand (Kara) Niyācam brings the divinities and their powers into the hands of the worshipper. Thereby his hands are fit to perform the Limb Niyācam, i.e. assigning the gods to other parts of the body. There are divinities for different parts of the body representing the five faces of Śiva, viz. Īcāṉam for the head, Tatpuruṣam for the mouth, Akōram for the heart, Vāmatēvam for the pelvis and Catyōjātam for the body below the pelvis. These divine powers and their respective parts can be recognized in the Mantras mentioned below.

Śiva and Vittiyātēkam (Śakti in the form of Mantras as the embodiment (Tēkam) of knowledge, TL.) are also assigned to the heart as can be seen in the following chapter. In the end the officiating priest has become Śiva.

Agh. instructs as follows: "Pronouncing this Mantra *Ōm haḥ astirāya hum paṭ* he rubs his right and left hands one on top of the other twice. Pronouncing the Mantra *Ōm hum caktayē vauṣaṭ* and

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[1] RV. III:62:10 Woodroffe, Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, 88 ff. In the ritual there is a Gāyatrī for each god.

[2] See below 86 note 3.

[3] For more information see Stevenson, op. cit. 222 and Monier Williams, op. cit. 406.

[4] Apte s.v.

[5] This is clearly borne out in Tantric writings as e.g. Woodroffe, Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, 107 and Nalini Kanta Brahma, Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā, 66. So also Zieseniss, S. zur Geschichte des Śivaismus, 83 ff., where speculative implications of the "Aufsetzung" (Nyāsa) are treated. Cp. Monier Williams, op. cit. 204, 405 and 413.

thinking his hands wet with nectar he assigns the seat and form of Śiva with the tip of the thumbs at the root of the fingers inside the palm of the hand saying: *Ōm ham civācaṉāya namaḥ, ōm ham civamūrtayē namaḥ*. Then saying: *Ōm hōm icāṉamūrtnē namaḥ* he makes Niyācam in his thumbs with his index fingers and then in the four fingers (on each hand) beginning with the index finger by means of the thumbs saying: *Ōm hem tatpuruṣavaktirāya namaḥ, ōm hum akōrahrutayāya namaḥ, ōm him vāmatēvakuhyāya namaḥ, ōm ham satyōjāta mūrttayē namaḥ*. (The five fingers are thus made the abode of the five representatives of Śiva, or his five faces: Īcāṉam, Tatpuruṣam, Akōram, Vāmatēvam, and Catyōjātam).

He then places the thumbs at the root of the little fingers and makes Niyācam saying: *Ōm ham haum vityātēhāya namaḥ*. With the index-, middle- and ring fingers he makes Niyācam of the eye in the palms of the hands saying: *Ōm haum nētrēpyō namaḥ*. Inside the hands he makes Niyācam of the Mūla Mantra with the thumbs, and then from the little-finger to the thumb he makes Niyācam saying: *Ōm ham hrutayāya namaḥ, ōm hīm ciracē namaḥ ōm hūm cikāyai namaḥ, ōm haim kavacāya namaḥ, ōm haḥ astrāya namaḥ*.

Then he performs Avakuṇṭaṉam[1] saying: *Kavacāya*[2] *namaḥ* and Añcali (salutation) with the Mantra *Caktayē vauṣaṭ*.[3]

Performing Niyācam or 'assigning' as it is convenient to translate the word means that gods and divine powers are made to occupy a place. It may be a part of the worshipper's body or parts of an idol. The object of Niyācam can be the god or his image or seat or Mantra, i.e. the sacred formula which contains and conveys his essence.

15. Limb (Aṅka) Niyācam. After hand-Niyācam he makes Niyācam of the Civācaṉam (the throne of Śiva) with his thumb and his ring finger pointed at the heart saying: *Ōm hām civācaṉāya namaḥ* and Niyācam of the Civamūrtti saying: *Ōm hām civa-*

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[1] Skt. Avaguṇṭhana = covering the head, veiling, closing. This is a fixed ceremony of (sometimes symbolical) covering of the god, used particularly at the end of a ritual of purification. See 74. Cp. 105, note 2 below.

[2] Kavacam means armour and amulet or charm (Apte). The Mantra is used for protection. The charm, which may consist of a monosyllable — Apte says Hum-Hum — is treated as a deity: Praise to Kavaca. Both Mantras and Bījas are thus deified.

[3] Vauṣaṭ is "an exclamation or formula used in offering an oblation to gods or manes" (Apte).

mūrttayē namaḥ etc. etc. At the end comes Avakuṇṭaṇam and the performer shows the Great Mudrā (Makāmuttirai, which means touching with both hands from head to foot). A full account of Niyācam as used in this manual is given in the following survey.

16. Rules for Śaiva Sandhyā.[1] He should perform Pirāṇāyāmam[2] thrice either with the Camhitai or with the Kāyatri[3] (Mantras) and say: Haum Nētrēpyō Namaḥ and assign with his thumb and his ring finger the Tivya Mudrā to his eyes and make Nirīkṣaṇam[4] of the water with the Mūla Mantra ending with the word Namaḥ, and Tāṭaṇam[4] with the same Mantra and perform Apyukṣaṇam[5] with the Kavaca Mantra ending in Vauṣaṭ. Pronouncing the Heart Mantra that has the word Vauṣaṭ at the end and through the Aṅkuca Mudrā he draws the nectar (Amirutam) which is in the forehead-mark (Pintutāṇam) and makes it join the holy water (Tīrttam) which is in front of him with (the help of) the Mūla-, Pañcapirama and Aṅka Mantras and performing Tikkupantaṇam and Avakuṇṭaṇam he must make it ambrosia (Amirutīkaraṇam) with the Cow (Dhenu) Mudrā. Finally he must show the Great Mudrā and consider it as the holy water of Śiva (Civatīrttapāvaṇai).

Here is place for a brief remark. The worshipper is handling gestures (Mudrās) and Mantras as his effective means for making plain water into holy water (Civatīrttam). He uses his instruments for keeping inimical powers at bay (Tikkupantaṇam). Acts are fixed with duly effective Mantras. They come in the order of the

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[1] In a note Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 401, says that the word Sandhyā should be derived from San-dhyai to meditate in prayer. The common use of the word Canti (Skt. Saṃdhi)=union or junction seems to indicate that people have taken it to come from San-dhā. This idea is also behind the quotation from a book Cittatantiram given by Agh. saying that the demons (Rākṣacar) raise obstacles in the course of the sun at the three Cantis, and for that reason one must say the Astira Mantra and offer water for washing (Arghya). The Cantis are considered as goddesses.

[2] See above 71, note 4.

[3] See below 81, note 6.

[4] See above 74, note 2.

[5] Skt. Abhyukṣaṇam=consecration by sprinkling water. There are three ways of doing it differentiated by the position of the hand: Prokṣaṇa, Abhyukṣaṇa and Avokṣaṇa, according to Apte distinguished thus: "Uttānenaiva hastena prokṣaṇam parikīrtitam, nyañcatābhyukṣaṇam prokta tiraścāvokṣaṇaṃ smṛtam, i.e. outstretched, bent and "crooked" arm.

Niyācam, Skt. Nyāsa from the root *nyas*=to set or put down.

Place		*Instrument*			*Object, or what is assigned*	
Hand	Limb	Mantra (for hand and limb)	Mudrā		Hand	Limb
			Hand	Limb		
Inside the palms at the bottom of the fingers	Heart	Ōm Hām Civācaṇāya Namaḥ	Tips of thumbs	Thumb and ringfinger	Civācaṇam	Civācaṇam
		Ōm Hām Civāmūrttayē Namaḥ			Civamūrtti	Civamūrtti
Thumbs	Head	Ōm Hōm Īcāṇa Mūrtnē Namaḥ	Index-fingers	Thumbs	Īcāṇam	Īcāṇa Mantra
Indexfingers	Face	Ōm Hēm Tatpuruṣavaktrāya Namaḥ	Thumbs	Thumbs and indexfingers	Tatpuruṣam	Tatpuruṣa Mantra
Middle-fingers	Heart	Ōm Hum Akōrahrutayāya Namaḥ	Thumbs	Thumbs and middlefingers	Akōram	Akōra Mantra
Ringfingers	Private parts	Ōm Him Vāmatēvakuhyāya Namaḥ	Thumbs	Thumbs and ringfingers	Vāmatēvam	Vāmatēva Mantra
Little fingers	Feet	Ōm Hām Satyōjātamūrttaye Namaḥ	Thumbs	Thumbs and little fingers	Catyōjātam	Catyōjāta Mantra
Bottom of little fingers	Heart	Ōm Hām Haum Vityātēhāya Namaḥ	Thumbs	Thumbs and ringfingers	Vityātēham	Vityātēham
Palms	Eyes	Ōm Haum Nētrēpyō Namaḥ	Index-, middle- and ring-fingers	Index-, middle- and ringfingers	Nētram	Nētra Mantra
Hands	Heart	Mūla Mantra	Thumbs	All fingers	Mūla Mantra	Mūla Mantra
Little-fingers	Heart	Ōm Hām Hrutayāya Namaḥ	?	Thumbs, little-, ring- and middle-fingers		Heart Mantra
Ring-fingers	Head	Ōm Hūm Ciracē Namaḥ	?	Thumbs, little-, ring- and middle-fingers		Head Mantra

Middle-fingers	Tuft of hair on the crown of the head	Ōm Hūm Cikāyai Namaḥ	?	Thumbs, little-, ring- and middle-fingers		[illegible] Mantra
Index-fingers	Between the breasts	Ōm Haim Kavacāya Namaḥ	?	Indexfingers		Kavaca Mantra
Thumbs	Palms	Ōm Haḥ Astirāya Namaḥ	?	Ringfingers		Astira Mantra

Opening ceremony (Hand)

Rubbing one hand in the other twice the performer says the Astira Mantra: Ōm Haḥ Astirāya Hum Paṭ and considers them wet with nectar by means of the Mantra: Ōm Haum Caktayē Vauṣaṭ.

Closing ceremonies

Hand	Limb
	Reading the Astira Mantra that ends in Hum Paṭ clapping three times and with the Cōtikā Mudrā[1] he performs Tikkupantaṇam.
Saying Kavacāya Namaḥ he performs Avakuṇṭaṇam.	With the Kavaca Mantra he performs Avakuṇṭaṇam.
Caktayē Vauṣaṭ he says and performs Añcali.	He utters the Mūla Mantra ending in Vauṣaṭ and shows the Mahā-Mudrā (=touching the body with both hands from head to feet).

The Mantras of Īcāna, Tatpuruṣa, Akōra, Vāmatēva and Catyōjāta form the five Brahma-Mantras. The Mantras referring to six parts of the body, viz. heart, head, tuft of hair, breast, eyes and private parts form the six Limb-Mantras. Niyācam with reading of these eleven Mantras occurs very often in the ritual and is called Cakalikaraṇam. The combination of these two sets of Mantras is termed Saṃhitā Mantra.[2] — The Mantras are the gods and through Niyācam they are assigned to a "form" (Mūrtti), a sacred pot or the body of the Ācāriyar. This is done in the order of creation, beginning with the thumb and ending with the little finger, in the order of maintenance, beginning with the middle finger and ending with the indexfinger and in the order of destruction, beginning with the little finger and ending with the thumb. The order of creation is for the Brahmacāri (the religious student), of maintenance for the householder and of destruction for the Vānaprastha (the hermit).[3]

[1] "A finger-pose during prayer, which consists in joining the tip of the thumb with the middle-finger and snapping". TL.

[2] The eleven Mantras were known to Ziegenbalg. An exact rendering of the five Brahma Mantras and the other set with slight variations are found in Malabarisches Heidentum, 108.

[3] Śivārcanā Candrikā, 16.

ritual, Nirīkṣaṇam, Prōkṣaṇam Tāṭaṇam, Apyukṣaṇam, Tikku-pantaṇam and Avakuṇṭaṇam. Through the ceremonies of Niyācam, divinity was already assigned to him, and now he is fit to consider himself as standing in the midst of the halo of light (Pirapamaṇṭa-lam) of each Sandhyā goddess and to perform the sprinkling ceremony of purification on himself (Mārjaṇam). The goddesses are presented in the following four parts and then follows Mārjaṇam.

17. Meditation for the morning Canti. Early morning, while the stars are still in the sky he should meditate (Tiyāṇikka) on Pirāhmīcanti (Skt. Brāhmī-) as wearing red clothes and flowers and having reddish colour, plaited hair and wearing the sacred thread (Yakñōpavītam), sitting on a lotus seat in a swan etc.

18. Meditation for the midday Canti. At noon he must meditate on Vaiṣṇavī-Canti as having white dress, white colour, a garland of Tuḷaci, wearing the sacred thread etc.

19. Meditation on Rautrī. When the sun is half hidden he must meditate on Rautrī (the wife of Rudra) of black colour as having just passed her early youth with four arms, three eyes etc.

20. Meditation on the Fourth-time-Canti. Afterwards at midnight he should meditate on the Fourth-time-Canti-goddess. She is black in her face and white in her heart and has red colour on her feet. She is seated in the lotus position on a lion, wears the trident, the noose, the club etc. This is for Ācāriyar only according to the Yōkaja Āgama.[1]

21. Mārjaṇam. Within brackets is given an explanation in Tamil meaning purification (Cutticeytal). Monier Williams calls it "a kind of self-baptism"[2] which is correct. Only it is to be remembered that it is the god Śiva, who performs this act on himself. "... thinking himself to be standing in the halo of light of the respective Sandhyā-goddesses he should take Śiva's holy water (Civatīrttam) in his right hand pour it into his left hand and consecrate it with the Saṃhitā Mantra, perform the Kumpa Mudrā ... and sprinkle with his right hand the water flowing through the fingers of his left hand on his head".

22. Akamarṣaṇam.[3] Then he should take the remaining water in

[1] Skt. Yogaja, no. 2 in Farquhar's list (Outline, 193).

[2] Monier Williams, op. cit. 403. Cp. also Stevenson, op. cit. 214 and passim. Acc. to Stevenson it is an indispensible part of the ritual.

[3] See above 72, note 3.

his right hand thinking it to be pure and to be the very form of Dharma (Tarmacorūpam) and pronounce the Mūla Mantra and perform Pūrakam and considering it to have gone in through the left nostril, perform Kumpakam. Because the water which is kept inside by the airflow (Vāyu) of the Kumpakam destroys his sins, he should meditate on it as black and full of sin (Pāvarūpam) and perform Rēcakam.[1] Pronouncing the Mūla Mantra and the Astira Mantra he should consider it (the sin) as having been caught in his right hand coming out through the right nostril and with a frown (Puruvanerippu)[2] he should let it fall on his right big toe uttering the Mūla Mantra.

23. The sun prayer. Cūriya Kāyatrijapam (Skt. Gāyatrī-). Performing Ācamaṉam and Cakalīkaraṇam[3] and sprinkling water all around pronouncing the Astira Mantra, he meditates on the sun. The sun is iconographically described as the object of meditation, of red colour, having two hands, two eyes etc. At the end he pronounces the Cūriya Kāyatri Mantra ending with the word Svāhā[4] and gives three Arkkiyaṅkaḷ.[5]

24. Meditation on Catācivaṉ and chanting of the Gāyatrī (Catācivattiyāṉamum Kāyatrijapamum). He then meditates on Catācivaṉ in the centre of the orb of the sun in the following way: "I praise Catācivaṉ, the god of gods, who is of white colour and wears the serpent, the trident, the noose, the axe, the fire, the club, the thunderbolt (Vacciram), the goad, with the boon-confering gesture (Varatam) and the gesture of protection (Apayam), who has five faces and three eyes in each face and has the serpent, the moon and the Ganges on his head". — He should also meditate on the goddesses, Maṉōṉmaṇi on his left side and Civakāyatri[6] on

[1] See above 71, note 4.

[2] Puruvanerittal=to knit one's eyebrows in anger, to frown, TL. Stevenson writes: "All the time he keeps his eyes firmly closed". Op. cit. 221.

[3] Skt. Śakalī-karaṇa. Śakalī-kṛ means reduce to fragments, break into pieces. This usage is found in Tamil too, but TL makes a difference in spelling using ḷ when the term is used technically meaning to perform Kara Niyācam and Aṅka Niyācam. Through this ceremony divinity is assigned to the worshipper. He assumes the form of Śiva using eleven Mantras. So Nittiya Karumaviti, 7—8. See above 79.

[4] Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, 3. 8c.

[5] See above 71, note 5.

[6] Skt. Gāyatrī. This verse (RV 3, 62, 10) is attached to Śiva (as to other gods) both as Mantra and as goddess.

his right. Then saying the Civakāyatri ten times, he makes Tarppaṇam[1] to the gods of the five sections of the pedestal of the Linga (Pañcāvaraṇam)[2] along with their Caktis by repeating again the Pañcapirama Mantra and the Aṅka Mantra.

25. Five Tarppaṇam, i.e. Tēva- (god), Iruṣi- (Ṛṣi), Manuṣya- (man), Pūta- (ghost) and Pitir (manes) Tarppaṇam[3] to be given with appropriate Mantras in different ways. For further details see Mrs. Stevenson[4], but Manuṣya- and Pūta Tarppaṇam are not mentioned by her. There are also differences in detail. At the Pitir Tarppaṇam Agh. orders a seed of sesame to be placed on the wrist.

26. The end of the Aṉuṣṭāṉam.[5] At the end he performs Ācamaṉam and Cakalīkaraṇam (Aṅka- and Kara Niyācam) and with a little Prasāda (sacrificed element) he reduces the Civatīrttam to its original elements (Upacaṅkāram, Skt. Upasaṃhāra), and with the Saṃhitā Mantra he makes Śiva return to his sun-form (Ātittamūrtti) and then he goes to a sacred spot, sprinkles it with the help of the Astira Mantra, sits down and performs Pirāṇāyāmam and Cakalīkaraṇam saying the Mūla Mantra 100, 50, 25 or 10 times.

If the Anuṣṭāṉam is not performed at the right time the Saṃhitā Mantras must be read once by way of propitiation.

The elements of the ritual are instrumental in preparing the performer through cleansing and keeping evil powers at bay. Then he has the means of bringing divine power in its varied mani-

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[1] See above 73, note 3.

[2] The five sections are Taḷam, Taḷākkiram, Pīṭattin Kaṇṭam, Kīḻpīṭam and Ātāracilai, TL. s. Pañcavaraṇam. The top is likened to a flower with petals, then follows the neck, the lower portion and the supporting stone. For the word Āvaraṇam Cp. below 112, note 3.

[3] Cp. the five great sacrifices, Mahā Yajña, viz. "sacrifice to the Veda (Brahma-Yajña), or Vedic recitation; the offering to the gods (Deva-Yajña) or melted butter in fire (Homa); the libation (Tarpaṇa) to the manes (Pitṛ-Yajña); offerings (called Bali) deposited in various places on the ground (Bhūta-Yajña); and the sacrifice to men) Manuṣya-Yajña) consisting in hospitality, especially to Brāhman mendicants". (Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, 255).

In medieval time Deva-Pūjā took the place of Homa as Deva-Yajña. See Pandurang Vaman Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II, 696—704.

[4] Op. cit. 229.

[5] Skt. Anuṣṭhāna, performance of daily religious duties (TL).

festations into his own person. The centre of the Anuṣṭāṇam is a divine self-worship. The same instruments are still needed but the act is selfcontained, — priest and god have melted into one — and its purpose is linked up with the course of the sun assuming a cosmic significance. The great god Śiva alone can make safe the daily course of the sun. The priest acts for him as his temporary manifestation, but even the god uses mighty instruments such as the Astira Mantra to complete his task. When Śiva has performed the rites necessary for the world's existence, he is directed back to the sun. — One notices here the interesting phenomenon of an act which makes the divinity turn into an alternative manifestation to protect itself. — The instruments safeguard the priest's return to normal conditions.

These rituals will be full of meaning to those who approach them with a mind trained in the conceptions clustering around these forms. A full interpretation of their meaning will require its own investigation as a part of the religious history of India. — The building up of the ritual and the interrelationship of its different parts is another matter for careful consideration.

We are here, however, concerned with more simple facts. Whatever a particular item is meant to be or taken to mean, it is an instrument. Moments of direct action like cleansing the body, hygienic observances, reverential attitude, meditation etc. have been harnessed in forms of action, which have a symbolical meaning. That is to say they have an indirect effect. They cannot be dispensed with lest the efficacy should be adversely affected.

These general remarks are amplified directly through a reference to the technical instruments of which the ritual overflows, Bīja, Mudrā, Mantra etc. The mud - or earth bath is of special interest as a substitute for a matter of personal hygiene, found necessary because of the instrumental character of its ritual form. The bath ceremony develops into ten varieties, of which one is without any material at all and consists in reading Mantras only. Whatever its effect may be, it has nothing to do with cleanliness.

2. Vaiṣṇava ritual

Followers of Viṣṇu have similar rules for their daily ritual life. Illustrations may conveniently be taken from some of the handbooks available in the market such as Nittiyāṇuṣṭāṇavitiyum

Tiruvārātaṉakiramamum, and Śrīvaiṣṇava Tiṉacari, The rules differ in details from the Śaivite rules but have the same aspect of discipline and routine and recognize definite objectives. The Tiṉacari divides the Karmaṅkaḷ (acts, particularly ritual performances) into three groups: Nittiyam, Naimittikam and Kāmyam. Nittiyam comprises daily rites such as bathing and morning, noon and evening prayers, (Cantyāvantaṉam). Naimittikam prescribes the observation of the days of the lord's descending (Avatāra), the birth of the month, eclipses of the sun and the moon etc. Kāmyam deals with rites prescribed for obtaining a desired result (Palam). "In as much as knowledge of these latter performances is needed only by those who desire it, only Nittiyam and Naimittikam are given briefly in the book".[1]

The aim of this thesis as well as limitation of space prevent a detailed description of the rules. Saying that these rites and ceremonies form a pattern of life, which is an instrument in the technical sense of the word and has a purpose is permissible but not conclusive or comprehensive. They can also be viewed from other angles, with which we can not concern ourselves here. — In the appendices, which occupy 58 of the 82 pages of the book it is said p. 24: "Whatever Karma you set out to do you must contemplate (Aṉusantāṉam) what Karma it is, on what day it should be done and the result you are having in mind (Result=Palam)". This is called Saṅkalpa.[2] Secondly there is Sātvika Tyākam, which is considered as the climax (Parākāṣṭai)[3] of Vaiṣṇava observances and consists in

[1] Nittiyāṉuṣṭāṉaviti, II and 24. Cp. Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, 244—245: There are 3 varieties of processional festivals (Utsava-): 1) the festival to be celebrated at a fixed point of time; corresponds to Nittiyam; 2) the festival as an act of faith (Śraddhā, says Gonda. It may turn into belief in special help and become 'Kāmyam'); 3) the festival celebrated on account of ominous events (Nimitta). Hillebrandt has it as Naimittikas for special occasions (Ritualliteratur, 120).

[2] See also Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 23, where Saṅkalpa is rendered "voluntarily, with earnest resolution and conscious will" — evidently also having a purpose in mind. The following words of Monier Williams are also applicable. "The whole course of prayer, praise, ritual and oblation ... was like an intricate piece of mechanism, or a chain of which every link required to be complete and perfect in all its parts. It could then effect anything. It was the great preservative from all evil, the great maintainer of the ernergies of the universe, the great source of all benefits". (op. cit. 23).

[3] Great desire (Skt. Kāṅkṣā).

abstaining from any kind of Palam (benefit) and doing it to please (Pirīti) the lord only. But the Saṅkalpa is still there and preserves to the Karma a character of efficient instrument, even if surrendered to the will and pleasure of Viṣṇu. Before saying the Saṅkalpa one must wash hands and feet, sip water twice and sit down facing east and put on the Pavitra, which means that one is thereby "bound" to fulfil one's promise but also sure to succeed. — The Saṅkalpa occurs in Śaivite ritual as well (Agh. 4). Saṅkalpa and Sātvika Tyākam are common to all Karmas.

The daily rites are divided into Apikamanam (Skt. Abhigamana rites for purifying one's own person), Upātāṉam (Skt. Upādāna collecting the things necessary for Ārātaṉam, worship), Ijyai (worship of the lord[1]), Svātyāyam (Skt. Svādhyāya contemplating or investigating the meaning (Arttāṉucantāṉam) of both the Sanskrit and the Tamil philosophical books, Upayavētāntaṅkaḷ, Itihāsas (stories), Purāṇas, holy sayings of priests (Ācāriyar), Mantras etc. or uttering (Japi) the sacred Mantras, and Yōkam (="meditating on the image of the Lord and thinking one has laid down one's head at his feet as if overcome by sleep", p. IV).

As an example of the Abhigamana ritual the following items are taken from the Nittiyāṉuṣṭāṉaviti:

1. Waking up.
2. Going for evacuation
   after which cleansing with earth takes places (Cp. Miruttikāsnāṉam, above p. 39).
3. Bathing
   after which one wipes one's body muttering a Mantra of praise to Ramanuja.
4. Putting on Kāppu[2] of sacred earth (Tirumaṇkāpputarittal)
   The performer sprinkles a little water (Tīrttam) on the ground and sits on an elevated place and "causes the sacred earth box to appear" (*Yeḻuntaruḷacceytu*). Facing east he claps his hands, opens the box, and holding the sacred earthen Kāppu in his hand, he closes the box, consecrates it with Mantras and pours with his right hand a cow-horn (measure) of water over

[1] Cp. Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 49 and also Renou, Vocabulaire du rituel vedique, s.v. for a more specific usage.

[2] See below, 184 and 252.

his left hand adding earth the whole time. With different Mantras he then applies the perpendicular marks (Ūrtvapuṇṭaram) to twelve parts of his body.

(This corresponds to the applying of sacred ashes by the Śaivites. It is of importance to note that it is called "protection" (Kāppu).

5. Reading of the sacred books.

Then he goes to the presence of Viṣṇu and worships according to the rites for temple service.

In a more detailed account of the daily rites Rangachari[1] adds another item: Offerings to the Ṛṣis and the forefathers (Devarṣi Pitṛ Tarpaṇa) and then gives rules for the Sandhyā worship. This entails Ācamaṇam, Niyācam, the repeating of the Vyāhṛtis[2] while sprinkling water or standing in water or having one leg in water, Japa (recitation of Mantras) and Upastāṇam[3]. — There follows reading of the eight syllable Mantra, offering of water to Ādhāra-Śakti with libation of water to those of his own lineage who have died without a son. Then comes the Brahma Yajña and the fire ceremony (Aupācaṇam) before the next main part of his programme, Upātāṇam, according to the division presented above, is due.

Space does not allow a detailed report of these rituals. Suffice it to say that in elements and in conception of the efficacy of the rites they differ very little from the Śaiva rituals.

The rules contain references to gradation in value according to the time of performance, varieties and modes of doing the Karma. The Upātāṇam for example, is best performed if the ingredients (Traviyam) are created or grown through one's own efforts. It is a medium performance, if they are bought in the shops, inferior if picked up in the woods, and worst of all if obtained through begging. While grass is usable only the same day as a rule, it lasts a week if cut on a Sunday and six months if cut on a new-moon day and a year if gathered on Āvaṇi (August-September) new-moon day. This marks it as an instrument in the technical sense of the word.

The great mass of rules for every little detail is bound to make

[1] Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 59 ff.

[2] See above, 73 note 4.

[3] "Upasthāna is of two kinds: Gāyatrī-Upasthāna and Sūryopasthāna. It is intended to send back the Sandhyā-Devatā, which was previously invoked". (Krishnaswami Aiyar, Popular Hinduism, 95). — "A farewell to any deity invoked to be present" (Devasigamani Paṭṭar).

the observance a matter of routine. A man who is used to the ritual from his childhood and has been trained to look upon it as good manners, will feel protected and cultivated and also edified in following the ritual strictly. When taking food, for example, he washes his hands and feet; sips water twice; places his water bowl on his right side; sits down avoiding facing north; puts a ring of Darbha grass on the fourth finger of his right hand, folds his hands and addressing the food that is spread on a leaf in front of him mixed with ghee he prays: "May this be everlasting to us (*Asmākam nityam astv etat*)", sprinkles water, saying: "*Om bhūrbhuvassuvaḥ*", performs the "drying up, burning and ablution" (Śōṣaṇatāhaṇa-plāvaṇaṅkaḷ)[1]; invokes the protection of the tutelary deities of the eight quarters through the Astira Mantra; makes a mental offering to the Antaryāmin.[2] Then he sprinkles water (Pariṣēcaṇam)[3] twice with water handed (Viṭapaṭṭa) by others, without stretching his arm across the food and avoiding spilling any drop of water on the leaf (on which the food is served) saying: *Om bhūrbhuvassuvaḥ* and *Satyam tvartena pariṣiñcāmi*.[4] Afterwards taking the sacred water (Tīrttam) of Perumāḷ (Viṣṇu) in his right hand and holding the tip of the leaf with the tips of his pointing finger, the middle finger and the thumb of the left hand and saying: *Amṛtopas taraṇamasi*[4] he drinks a little of the water and with the finger on which he wears the Pavitra[5], the middle finger and the thumb of the right hand, he takes some food (Prasāda) and says *Prāṇāya svāhā* and eats it. He must swallow it without chewing it with his teeth. In the same way he should swallow food saying for each morsel: *Apānāya-*

[1] This ceremony takes place in the Ijyai (=Ārātaṇai, worship of the lord, Śrī Vaiṣṇava Tiṇacari, 7—8) also and is explained in the appendix as follows: Śōṣaṇam is making dry with the wind (or air, Vāyu). Tāhaṇam is burning with fire and Plāvaṇam is moisting with Ganges water and cleaning. It is an imaginary act (op. cit. 74).

[2] "The internal spirit controlling the human soul" a manifestation of God (Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 123). It means also supreme spirit and is thus equal to Brahman (Apte, s.v.).

[3] "Sprinkling water, reciting Mantra, as round a plate before eating", TL.

[4] These formulas are recorded in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, 10, 33, 1 and in the Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, 15, 7, 10 and in various other texts, for which see Bloomfield, A Vedic Concordance. For their translation, which in this connection has little significance, reference must be made to translations of the texts mentioned.

[5] See above 68 note 4. Cp. below 94.

svāhā, Vyānāyā svāhā, Udānāya svāhā, Samānāya svāhā, Brahmaṇima ātmāmṛtatvāya respectively. Then with water poured by others on his left hand he washes himself (Cōtittu Koḷḷa). Then he continues his meal after having distributed (Cāti)[1] that which is an offering to the Lord. While eating he should not speak unnecessarily. If it happens that he speaks unnecessarily, he should say: *Om bhūr bhuvassuvaḥ* before he continues eating.

A strict observance of these rules will tend to become a rite, the faithful completion of which assures safety and health. Apart from this general character, which is more obvious the more details there are to be attended to, some items in the rituals are typical instruments. — The ring of Darbha grass (Pavitra) is one. It is comparable to Kāppukaṭṭutal, which means "tying a yellow string on the arm in token of a vow and as a pledge of its fulfilment", TL. It can have other colours also. Anybody who has to perform ceremonies during festivals, goes on pilgrimage or is otherwise engaged in any ritual performance will wear it. He will be under certain obligations during that time, and he is at the same time 'marked' and protected. The Pavitra should serve a similar purpose. It is significant that it is put on one's finger while making the Saṅkalpa.[2] — The reading of the Mantras, which are not understood[3], and the making up for a slip in the observance of silence by another reading of a Mantra, are elements which are naturally classified as instruments.

Before a Vaiṣṇava takes his food the Apikamaṉam, the Upātāṉam and Ijyai must be completed, which implies calling the god from the places of his Avatāra (Āvāhaṉam Cey) and giving oneself up (Camarppi) to the god by means of the Mantra of eight syllables. One offers him water for washing hands and feet, sipping and drinking (Arkkiyam, Pāttiyam, Ācamaṉīyam, Pāṉīyam etc.); gives him his bath, offers him flower, perfumes, sweet songs from the Nālāyirapirapantam (the collection of Vaiṣṇava hymns) etc. Then one offers him food, performing Tikkupantaṉam with the Astira Mantra, shows the Curapi Mudrā and makes him eat the boiled rice offered to him (Taḷikai) by means of the Kirāca Mudrā.

[1] This is a special meaning of the word in Vaiṣṇava usage. (TL).

[2] Agh. 4. See above 84.

[3] In the preface it is said that the book was prepared for those who are not familiar with Sanskrit.

Mantras and Mudrās appear in this ritual as well as in that of the Śaivas, and details will be left out in order to avoid repetition, although many items are different in the two rituals. For the same reason the closing part of the meal has been left out.

Of value for the understanding of rituals at home is the magazine called Vaitika Tarma Varttiṉi, published and distributed from Madras since 1947 with a view to strengthening the orthodox way of living. As a family magazine, explaining the Dharma to old and young, men and women, its pages contain many examples of teaching where concepts of instrument and purpose are very much in evidence.

For daily rites its teaching about Pārāyaṇam[1] is instructive.[2] "The Vedas have Upaniṣads for (the attainment of) eternal bliss (Mōkṣam) and the Karma sections (Karma Kaṇṭam) for happiness in this world.[3] For the very purpose of bringing to light (*Veḷiyiṭavē*) the meritorious acts announced in the Vedas, the Itihāsas, Purāṇas and the Tarma Cāstraṅkaḷ (ethics and moral codes), have come into existence. The good things (Naṉmaikaḷai) that can be had through reading the Vedas can also be had through reading the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas. Since the Veda itself has come in the shape of the Rāmāyaṇam, it is announced that such good (Nalam) is obtainable from the ceremonial reading of the Rāmāyaṇam. In the same way the reading of Pāratam (Mahābhārata), Pākavatam (Bhāgavata Purāṇa), Tēvi (Devī Bhāgavata Upapurāṇa)[4] and other Pākavataṅkaḷ (Bhāgavatas=Scriptures of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti religion[5]) and in them especially the Cuntara section, the Bhagavadgītā etc. give result (Payaṉ). Some lists of the thousand names (Cahasra Nāmaṅkaḷ) are likewise praised as very excellent by great people".

Then follow rules for the correct recitation. Without the teaching of a Guru one should not perform Pārāyaṇam. Or one should at least get the permission from an elderly person and get hold of the suitable picture of a god and begin reading in its presence. But

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[1] Ceremonial recitation or reading of the sacred books, TL.

[2] Vol. 4, no. 5, 68.

[3] Compare the word Karmakāṇṭi="one who performs religious rites and ceremonies enjoined by the Vedas *for the realization of his objects*" (italicized by me), TL.

[4] See Farquhar, Outline, 226.

[5] See Farquhar, op. cit. 233.

doing it in this latter way will not give result to those who read with worldly ends in view (Kāmyam). Even those who read disinterestedly (Niṣkāmanaiāka) should be taught by a Guru. It is further enjoined that the reader must bathe, tuck up his garment, put on the sacred mark (Puṇṭram), sip water and make a decision (Saṅkalpa, i.e. making up his mind for what purpose he is reading). He must also perform the sixteen-fold Pūcai[1] to the god in question. — In a following number further instructions are given as to how portions of a section should be distributed on a number of days in order to cover the whole section within a certain time. It is added that if the Pārāyaṇam is done as before with Pūcai, the result will follow. The importance of this is stressed in a rule: "Those who take to prayer and recitation with the view to obtaining some good or other, will have result only if they perform Pūcai with due observances".[2] The rules for reciting the Rāmāyaṇam end up with 22 objectives: 1. For increase of virtue (Tarmam). If one recites the Ayōtyā (Ayodhyā) section from 21 to 25, daily a division (Maṇṭalam), performing Pūcai according to rules, virtue will increase. 2. For increase of wealth. If one recites the 32:nd chapter (Carkkam) daily three times, wealth will increase. 3. To obtain a good husband or wife. One must recite in the morning the 73:rd chapter of the Pāla section, the one about Sītā's marriage hardships. One must make an offering (Nivētaṇam) of milk just then taken from the cow. 4. To obtain Mōkṣam. One must recite four chapters, 65 to 68 from the forest-(Āraṇyaka) section, which tells the story how Jaṭāyu was given Mōkṣam. 5. To remove leprosy, epilepsy, asthma and other diseases. One must chant (Jepi) the 59:th chapter of the war-

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[1] The 16 acts of worship are acc. to Agh. 117 with ref. to Kāraṇam: 1. Invocation (Āvāhaṇam), 2. Fixing (Stāpaṇam), 3. Water for the washing of feet (Pāttiyam), 4. water for sipping (Ācamaṇam), 5. Water for the washing of hands (Arkkiyam), 6. Bathing of the idol (Apiṣēkam or Snāṇam), 7. Dressing and perfuming (Vastiram Kantam Cāttutal, Skt. Vastropavīta), 8. Offering of flowers (Puṣpañcāttutal), 9. Offering of incense and light (Tūpatīpam Camarppittal), 10. Offering of food etc. (Naivēttiyam), 11. Sacrifice (Pali), 12. Oblation through fire (Hōmam), 13. Daily festivals (Nityōtsavam), 14. Music (Vāttiyam), 15. Dancing (Narttaṇam), 16. Send-off (Utvācaṇam). Cp. Kāraṇam Pūrvam, 375. and also Stevenson, Rites of the Twiceborn, 29 and 52 and Apte sub Ṣoḍaśopacāra, where a similar series is given. TL has two sets s.v.

[2] Vol. 4, no 5, 70.

(Yuttam) section daily twice and make an offering of honey in the beginning and of milk at the end. — For the remaining objectives we leave out the prescriptions. — 6. To remove Pēy and Picācu (evil spirits), 7. To remove insanity, 8. To remove poverty, 9. To take away sorrow, 10. To remove sorrow coming unexpectedly, 11. To become united with separated relatives, 12. To remove the evil (Tōṣam) of bad sleep, 13. To remove the evil (Tōṣam) of joining courtesans (Parastrī), 14. To remove the guilt of having consciously or unconsciously behaved disrespectfully to Rāma (Rāmāpacāram), 15. To bring about complete health, 15. To get a son, 17. That a safe delivery may take place, 18. To get out of prison, 19. To create Pirama Varccas (Skt. Varcas)=the glory of Brahmā, 20. To give inexhaustible satisfaction to the manes (Pitirkkaḷ), 21. To change a bad character into a good one, 22. To fulfil other desires, hitherto not mentioned.

The recital of sacred writings is a matter of daily observance. It is a sacred duty aiming at preserving to man a religious outlook. The practice has, however, become a means to an end. The idea of purpose is not only generally behind it, but manifest and worked out in details. Different passages have different effects. The matter could be taken up again in a later chapter dealing with ceremonies at times of crisis, when various objectives will be kept in view and motivate the recital. The texts and the chanting are instruments and aided by the Pūcai. The association of similarity is made use of in the choice of texts which suit the need from the point of view of their contents. Sir James Frazer has certainly a word to say here about like producing like.

We have followed the rites of daily life. How many will be performing them accurately to the smallest detail we do not know. Already Sir Monier Williams remarks: … "the number of Brāhmans, who go through *all* these Sandhyā ceremonies is constantly decreasing".[1] and Mrs. Stevenson tells us that modern women have little time for the daily ceremonies at home.[2] Of value for an appraisal of the prevalence of these rites in South India is the fact that handbooks, some of which have been presented here, are easily available in the bookshops. One might also be justified in drawing

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[1] Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 402.

[2] Stevenson, op. cit. 251. Cp. Natesa Sastri, Hindu feasts and ceremonies, 10: "… few observe them regularly".

some conclusions from the late opening of schools and offices — 10 and 11. A. M. respectively — said to be due to the ceremonies of the Brāhmans. According to the ritual much time is required from sunrise till the moment food can be taken, and nobody likes to set out for his work before he has had his meal. Quotations from Māntirīkam handbooks (below 279) show that the daily rites (Aṉuṣṭāṉam) are known to the public and can be prescribed as necessary for anybody who wants to achieve his aims through Māntirīkam. This is an indication of how far the rituals are prevalent among people at large. — There is not, however, enough material available to estimate the usage in the various castes and groups.

It is our concern to see how far these rites submit to the test of purpose and instrument. In daily routine the purpose is at first sight less prominent. The ceremonies are not gone through with the view of achieving or attaining something. One may, of course, attend to the ceremonies more carefully, if something important is going on, a child is expected and so on. But the negative purpose is more evident. Evil is averted through the observance of the rites, and their neglect would spell disaster. Taken together they form a safe conduit for the stream of life in its daily functions. Nothing is exempted from the need of being held, protected and made institutional by ritual performance. The rites give safety and nobility. Fear and feelings of "noblesse oblige" are strong motives with the diligent performers. It is not merely the fear of "slipping back to the rank of a Sūdra[1]" that makes a Brāhman observe the ceremonies. He would not feel sure of himself, and a fear of failure in his enterprises would lurk in his mind, if he were careless about them. This is not *in re* different from attending a ceremony with a set purpose. There is in this case a general purpose of wellbeing and maintenance of one's prerogatives.[2] — Sanmuka Cuntarar promises his pupil health and prosperity.[3]

It is often expressely stated how the performer will benefit from the rites. The third chapter of the Kāmikam which deals with daily rites at home, begins by saying that the observance will

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[1] Stevenson, op. cit. 251.

[2] In the Slokas and Mantras an objective is sometimes mentioned such as: "May we be honoured among men", RV IV, 51, 11. See Monier Williams, op. cit. 407. Cp. Manu I, 99—109.

[3] See above 46, note 6.

remove all evil (Doṣa), be meritorious and pleasing to the mind. — Applying sacred ashes is said to be Bhuktimuktida (giving pleasures and deliverance) etc. (Kāmikam 71).

The Āgamas thus fall in line with the handbooks of Māntirīkam. The benefits are given more in detail and are more varied in the latter manuals than in the former, but the idea of instrument and purpose is evident in both. We shall also find that the Māntirīkam handbooks on their part instruct the performers to observe carefully the rituals for Aṉuṣṭāṉam as part of the method as for example. "Bathe at sunrise and finish the Aṉuṣṭāṉam". "Bathe in the morning in a river, a tank or a well, put on clean clothes, silk clothes or clothes made of fibre, apply sacred ashes and finish the Aṉuṣṭāṉam". "Bathe on a Friday evening and finish the sacred Aṉuṣṭāṉam".[1] — We shall revert later to the Māntirīkam literature for more details, but it is good to note the close resemblance in method and purpose between that art and the rituals for daily life at home.

The instruments are numerous. The prayer that the gods, ruling over the 9 divisions (Kaṇṭaṅkaḷ), should forbear defiling the earth when answering the call of nature can be a personal direct appeal. The places that should be avoided, however, have in some cases no direct significance, e.g. a field, a place where cows are, the foot of a mountain etc. There may have been reasons why they should be avoided, but to people of to-day they can only mean tabooed places, the avoidance of which is necessary lest evil should befall one. — Instrument is also that which is effective for reasons unknown or forgotten. — For cleaning one's teeth certain twigs are prescribed, others are forbidden. The reason may be well founded on experience. Some twigs may be too hard and others too juicy. But when twigs must be substituted by leaves on certain days, there is no direct connection with experience. — Rules about facing this or that direction are not relevant to experience except in some cases as e.g. turning away from the sun when passing urine. The earth-bath is altogether an instrument. Its effect must be indirect, and quite obviously so, even to the performer. Saying it has a symbolic significance is the same as saying it is an instrument. A symbol is, however, not necessarily an instrument. It will become an instru-

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[1] The Māntirīkam books according to my numbers, III:41, III:5. See further 279 ff.

ment only if used. A flag is a mere symbol as long as it is a "flying colour", but it will become an instrument when hoisted to assure success, or to drive away evil spirits. — The numbers are instruments. Repeating a thing 3 or 7 or 108 times has no direct effect. — The Pavitra is an instrument.[1] The Mantras are instruments. Partly they are without meaning and often they are not understood by him who reads them. They have fixed places in the ritual and varied effects and can not be interchanged. — The gestures, Mudrās, are instruments. They are all indirect means of achieving something, and what was just said about Mantras applies to them as well. — Sipping water, Ācamaṇam, is a part of the ritual, "without which the individual is not fit for performing anything", says Daksinamurtti Paṭṭar. This is his explanation of the Ācamaṇam:

"Ācamaṇam means the taking of Brahma Tīrttam (the sacred water pertaining to Brahma) thrice and wiping the lips twice and performing Nyāsa. There are several kinds of Ācamaṇam.

Ācamaṇam is the fundamental ritual to be completed in performing orthodox and Āgamic rites. Without Ācamaṇam it is said that the individual is not fit for performing any part of the rites and ceremonies. The lips must be wiped twice after sipping of Brahma Tīrttam thrice to purify the body and sense organs (Intiriyaṅkaḷ). — It has also some medical effect as said by medical people i.e. cold water taken in little by little will remove the phlegm (Kapam, Skt. Kapha) and give a special tone to the pulse (Nāṭi[2]) as an

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[1] This is how Daksinamurtti Paṭṭar explains its use in his own words: "It is a special weapon in the ring finger for Brāhmans while performing ceremonies and rituals. It serves as a self protector by destroying elements like Rākṣasa, Asuras and other obstacles as the Vajra to Indra and trident to Śiva as said in Vedas. There are several kinds of Pavitra (Acc. to Kāraṇam, 581 the Pavitras are of three kinds, Nitya, Naimittika and Kāmya).

The Pavitra worn at any ceremony compensates for certain of the usual Aṇuṣṭāṇams left undone knowingly or unknowingly, prior to the ceremony (Kāraṇam Pūrvam says it removes all Doṣa, 581). — It purifies the mind, word and body, Trikaraṇacutti. It gives "Boga" (Skt. Bhoga=enjoyment), Mokṣa etc. to the performer. Ceremonies done in the absence of Pavitra will yield nothing but sin to the doer".

Above 68 note 4 reference has been made to the Tamil word Kāppu, which has a similar meaning. It is clear that this instrument does not only protect but also preserve the efficacy, in as much as the ceremony is useless and dangerous without it.

[2] Nāṭis are explained by AC as tubular vessels of the body originating in the navel. They are said to be as many as 72,000, but usually only ten Nāṭis are mentioned and more often only three, which are connected with the same elements, viz. wind, gall and phlegm, as the Tridoṣa or 'defects' causing

incentive. Special attention must be devoted to pronouncing the Mantras with appropriate "Svaras" (accents), which demand energy from the utterer and as a result of which the throat of the performer is bound to become dry very often, if done properly. To make it wet always Ācamaṇam has been ushered into all the rites and ceremonies frequently from beginning to end. The merits of Ācamaṇam are more elaborately dealt with in Saṃhitā and other books. Mantras uttered without proper accent will yield negative effects. The touching of various parts of the face and body with various fingers uttering Mantras after sipping thrice is one type of general Nyāsa".

The practical and direct use of sipping water is stressed in order to give a rationalistic explanation. The instrumental character is, however, obvious in the idea of Brahma Tīrttam, the number of sipping and wiping and the importance of the whole ceremony, "the merits of which are more elaborately dealt with in Saṃhitā and other books". Sprinkling water to gods and manes has no direct effect, at least not in the minds of people to-day. Perhaps there was once a more realistic thinking of the forefathers as really drinking the water. — While we find a number of details which are instruments in character, it should not be forgotten that the ritual contains other items, which do not necessarily come under this heading. Prayer and meditation, bowing and salutation can be parts of direct worship. They can on the other hand because of their fixed places in the ritual easily turn into means through which the worshipper achieves his purpose.

b. THE DAY IN THE TEMPLE

1. The ritual according to Akoracivacariyar.

Let us proceed to the temples. — As was said above[1] the distinction between Pūrvam (first part) and Uttaram (last part) made by Akoracivacariyar as dealing with Ātmārttavaḷipāṭu, worship for

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diseases (Cp. Müller, Grundlagen altindischer Medizin, 63 ff.). The three Nāṭis join in one stem (Narampu) and are called Iṭaikalai, Piṅkalai and Cuḷumuṇai. Behind the translation 'pulse' lies probably the common idea that they "give information about the qualities of the heart" (AC, 958).

They are, however, also identified with the system of nerves. Cp. Herbert, Glossaire du Rāja Yoga et du Hāṭha Yoga.

More in line with the Indian way of thinking is the statement made by Narayanswami Iyar: "Nāḍis are conduits of Prāṇa" (the vital forces, Cp. above 71 note 3), Śrī-Vidyā, QJMS, vol. XXV, 287.

[1] See above 56.

one's own benefit, and Parārttavaḻipāṭu, worship for the benefit of others does not hold good for the Āgamas. The Pūrvam of the Kāraṇākamam deals mainly with temple rituals, and the rules for Ātmārtta Pūcai are found at the beginning of the Piratiṣṭai section. A good portion of the Kāraṇam concerns the construction of temples and it is even more so in the Kāmikam just as in the Marīci Saṃhitā. The Uttaram deals more exclusively with the temple rituals. — Rules about choosing the ground for a temple, drawing the plan of it, ploughing and sowing the field before erecting the building and many other rites would furnish many examples of instrument and purpose.[1] Rules for the dedication of idols are laid down in the Āgamas with minute details and followed in parts and with variations not only in big temples of distinct Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava character but even in small shrines. We will take an example from the shrine of Mūṅkaliyammaṉ near the Trivellore railway station, Chingleput district. The ceremony was called Aṣṭapantaṉa Kumpāpiṣēkam. Aṣṭapantaṉam is a kind of cement[2] used for fixing the idol to its base and consists of eight ingredients. The TL gives a list slightly different from the list given by the Pūcāri on the occasion. It was preceded by Stampa Piratiṣṭai, Vāstu Aṅkurārpaṇam and Kalaca Stāpaṉam, i.e. dedication of a pillar, sowing of seeds, Pālikai[3], for the consecration of the site and erection of the vessels (Kalacam), of which there were 108 in all. The arrangement of the pots was made according to rules laid down in the Āgamas.

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[1] See Marīci Saṃhitā 6, 10, 13, 14. Note the classification of the arrangements as Uttamam (best), Mattiyam (average) and Atamam (poor), which shows how the instrument is conceived as effective in different degrees. Cp. also Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, 39: "From the stretching of the cord, or the drawing of the lines of the Maṇḍala (the ground plan of the temple), every one of the movements is a rite and sustains, in its own sphere of effectiveness, the sacred building, to the same extent as the actual foundation supports its weight".

[2] For a full account references may be made to Kāraṇam Pūrvam, 619 and Uttaram, 137 and 241.

[3] Earthen pot in which Nava-Tāṉiyam (nine grains) are sown. When the seeds are sprouting they are placed before a marriage couple. They are also used in other ceremonies. Cp. the Aṅkurārpaṇa ceremony, Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, 259 ff. and Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 115 ff. — Kāraṇam Uttaram says it brings life, wealth and victory, Aṅkurārpaṇa Paṭala, Sloka 68.

Nine pots, of which one was slightly bigger than the others stood on a bed of rice with nine squares drawn in it.[1] They represented the guardians of the eight quarters (Tikkupālar) and the bigger one in the centre stood for the moon. A sacrificial altar (Vēti[2]) was built in clay in the shape of a leaf containing the pit for keeping the sacrificial fire (Hōmakuṇṭam). A pot near the stem represented Vīrapattiraṉ.[3] At the top end a pot stood for Kāḷi surrounded by twelve Pālikai. Seven pots represented the Captamāturu.[4] Five pots were called Varuṇa-Kalacam. For the rest the Pūcāri was not willing to supply information. — A fire was kept burning in the Vēti with nine kinds of sticks. Now and then the Pūcāri poured ghee on the fire. He was reading Mantras all the time. They were taken from the Yajur Veda, he said. Occasionally he demanded Mēḷam[5] (music), when important items of the ritual were carried out. — The aim of the whole celebration was to dedicate a new idol. The stone had been lying in water 40 days and was taken up the day before the Kumpāpiṣēkam and placed on a bed of grain. After the Kumpāpiṣēkam followed the Maṇṭalāpiṣēkam which meant anointing the idol continually for 40, 41 or 45 days. The ceremony called Aṣṭapantaṉam took place on the day after the Kumpāpiṣēkam.

These brief notes were taken down on the spot at the time of the ceremonies. Although incomplete the notes are of value as testifying to the existence of the performances to-day. It took place in February 1940. It is but an indication of the complexity of rites for the dedication of temples and idols. Not only is every detail worked out and fixed with the purpose of erecting the temple "properly"

[1] Prescribed in Agh. 34 and 36.

[2] See Caland: Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II:1,1, IV:5:1,5 etc. Cp. also Monier Williams, op. cit. 308.

[3] The god 'who emanated from Śiva's frontal eye and destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice' (TL).

[4] The seven mothers, considered to be the 'personified energies of the deities', TL. Also Monier Williams, op. cit. 188 with names partly agreeing with the list given by the Pūcāri. More common, but as a rule kept separate, are the seven virgins or sisters represented by a stone slab with seven figures in relief work or sometimes — as on this temple ground — by seven bricks. Cp. Elmore: Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism, 12 ff. and Getty, Gaṇeśa, 11.

[5] Mēḷam is played at weddings during the most important part of the ceremony, the handing of the marriage symbol (Tāli), so that no inauspicious sound — e.g. sneezing — may be heard.

— in the sense: functioning as it should — but ceremonies are also added for protection and efficaciousness. It would be difficult to find a single example of direct method. But we can not pursue the matter here. Rituals for building and dedication are naturally not in daily use in the literal sense of the word. We take the temples as built and the idols as duly installed. What then?

The temple ritual is embedded in the biggest part of the Kāraṇākamam Pūrvam the section called Piratiṣṭai, comprising pages 318—633 with 74 chapters, some of which concern the dedication of various parts of the temple. In the Uttaram also rites of dedication and daily rituals are intermingled. This is natural since many acts of special Pūcai take place during the construction of a temple. A full account of the ritual system contained in the Āgamas must await further investigation and studies. For our purpose Akoracivacariyar's manual will suffice. The latter part, the Uttarapākam, of his book deals with the daily rites in the temple and has the heading: Nittiya Pūcai Viti, rules for the Pūcai that goes on continually or daily worship. The book is referred to by the Paṭṭar[1] of the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai and by Śrī Devasigamani Paṭṭar of the Cōmanāta temple at Māṉamathurai — who is an acknowledged authority on these things — as building on the Kāraṇākamam and of authoritative value. Variations in the ritual are frequently noted from other Āgamas such as Aṃcumāṉ, Aṉal (=Āgneyaka) Cinti, Cuprapēta, Yōkaja, Śrīmakuṭa, Ajita, Lalita, Raura, Kiraṇa etc. and from works like Śivārcanā Candrikā and Kriyākrama Jyoti the latter book also by Akoracivacariyar.[2] The quotations may have been made by the translator and do not prove any antecedence of these works to Akoracivacariyar's book.

In order not to become lost in the mass of details, which make up the ritual and their, at first sight, seemingly meaningless repetition, the following programme must be borne in mind. The temple worship for an ordinary day consists in four Sandhyā celebrations, morning (Kāla), noon, (Ucci), sunset (Cāyaṅkālam), and midnight (Arttayāmam). To those are added two intermediary celebrations, Upacantikālam and Piratōṣakālam.

Before the programme can begin, however, there must be first

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[1] Skt. Bhaṭṭa, "Brāhman-priest of a temple", TL.

[2] See above 55.

the Ācāriyar's own preparation, whereby he is made the god himself.

Secondly he must approach the Lord of the field (Kṣētrapālar) for permission to enter the temple and receive from him the key. He then enters the sleeping chamber of the gods and wakes them up with due attention to their comfort.

Thirdly he makes ready the vessels and ingredients necessary for worship.

In the handbook follows the full ritual for one Sandhyā for the god only. It will be repeated in the same Sandhyā for the goddess.

Then the whole thing will be repeated for the other three Sandhyās and less elaborately for the intermediary celebrations. For these five ceremonies the handbook contains only the variations from the main Sandhyā ritual.[1]

At the end the Kṣētrapālar is again worshipped and the key handed over in his custody.

Each Sandhyā celebration can be divided into three main items: Pūcai in the general sense of image worship of mainly Tantric character, Firecult (Hōman) and festival (Nityōtsavam)

The main outline of the temple ritual, then, is as follows:

1. The Ācāriyar's preparation.
2. With permission of the Kṣētrapālar the gods are waken up.
3. Preparation of vessels etc. for worship.
4. Kālacanti.
5. Upacanti.
6. Uccikālacanti.
7. Piratōṣakālacanti.
8. Cāyaṅkālacanti.
9. Arttayāmacanti.
10. Worship of Kṣētrapālar and handing in the key.

The elements of the worship are explained in the order of the ritual as it will be described on the following pages. A systematic analysis of these elements and their organic function as parts of a whole will require a separate study. The following words about the place, meaning and function of some elements serve as the merest indication with a view to having a better understanding of the rituals from the beginning.

[1] Midnight worship is an exception, see below 142.

Formulas (Mantras), Syllables (Bījas) hold the gods and can be directed (Niyācam) by means of symbolic gestures (Mudrās). In that way the performer of the rites draws into himself the divine, whereby alone he becomes fit for worshipping. Control of breath and Yogic postures form parts of his preparation. — There are five acts of purification.[1] — The forms (Mūrtti) of the gods as well as their supporting base have a fixed symbolism, and so have the various parts of the temple. — Acts of protection (Tikkupantaṉam) precede the worship, which traditionally consists of 16 parts. It begins with invocation (Āvāhaṉam) and ends with a "send off" (Uttuvācaṉam). Between the two lie acts of attention to the needs of the gods as if they were kings. They are bathed, anointed, dressed, fed and entertained. Rather loosely inserted as number 12 comes the fire sacrifice (Hōmam) in deference to Vedic tradition.[2]

It is good to keep in mind while reading through the ritual that abstract things can be the objects as well as the means of worship, e.g. the Tatvas and the Mantras. A Mantra can be treated as a god and also offered to a god. Many times the different items of worship exist only in the imagination of the performer.

The Uttarapākam contains the following items of ritual:

1.

1. Maṅkala Vāḻttu (salutation, note the Tamil root vāḻ, which is not in Sanskrit). The Ācāriyar comes to the temple 3 and ¾ Nāḻikai (24 minute-periods) before sunrise after having completed his Aṉuṣṭāṉam, washes hands and feet, makes Piratakṣiṇam (walking round keeping to the right), salutes the doorkeepers, (Tuvārapālakar) and reaching the place in front of the sacred bull he greets Śiva pronouncing the Basic Mantra (Mūla Mantra) and offers flowers. Then he sits down on a seat formed like a tortoise facing north in order to perform the Puṇyāhavācaṉam (lit. declaring the day auspicious; corresponds to Tamil Maṅkala Vāḻttu). Saying the Astira Mantra he claps his hands three times and sprinkles himself with ordinary Arkkiyam.

2. Kara Niyācam. Gestures are performed as in the corresponding ceremony in the Anuṣṭāṉam[3] in three orders, in the order

[1] See above 74, note 2.
[2] See above 90, note 1.
[3] See above 82.

of creation, of maintenance and of destruction with different fingers in different positions for each order. The Vityātēkam[1] and the eye are also "assigned" with appropriate Mantras and the Śiva Mantra is assigned to all the knuckles.

3. Pirāṇāyāmam Ceyum Muṟai. Regulation of breath through Rēcakam, Pūrakam and Kumpakam.[2] The 'u', 'm', and 'a' Pījam must be pronounced during Kumpakam, which has the form of the moon and Viṣṇu for its god, Pūrakam, which has the form of the sun and Rudra for its god and Rēcakam, which has the form of Agni and Brahmā for its god, respectively.

4. Pūtacutti. This means purification of the five gross elements: earth, water, fire, wind and sky (Ākācam), which are said to occupy each a portion of the body from the feet to the Pirama Rantiram, (Skt. Brahma Randhra=the fontanelle) with appropriate Mantras and the following Bījas respectively: Hlam, Hvim, Hrum, Hyaim and Ōm Haum.

5. Cōṣaṇam, Piṇṭikaraṇam, "drying up and making a Piṇṭam".[3] This means (a symbolic) cutting of the "knots" in the knee, the navel, the heart, the neck and the forehead by means of the Aṅkuca Mudrā and the Pāsupata Mantra: *Ōm klīm pacum hum paṭ pācupatāstrāya namaḥ*. The performer then draws in the vital airs which are in places around the stomach, to the right, to the left, in the middle, on top and below, and makes the five souls (Ātmā =Pūta, Antara, Tattuva, Jīva, Mantra) into one by means of Kumpakam and gathers them through Rēcakam in the Tuvātacāntam.[4] Then he burns the sinful soul (Pāvātma) by means of the Bīja of fire (Akkiṉipījam) in a Kumpakam and then brings it through Rēcakam to the Tuvātacāntam, and there he moistens the ashes (of the sinful soul) with the Amirutam (nectar) which is available there[5], pronouncing the Bīja Vam, and then he draws it in again pronouncing the Bīja Lam. He then considers (Tiyāṉi) all his limbs

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[1] See above 75. "Vidyā as an Āgamic term means magical power", Schrader: Introduction to the Pāñcarātra 62.

[2] See above 71 note 4.

[3] "A ball of cooked rice offered to the manes", TL. (add.) but also, as here, foetus.

[4] Skt. Dvādaśānta, "A mystic centre which is believed to be twelve inches above the crown", TL.

[5] Cp. above 74, note 2.

as Piṇṭam and while doing so he pronounces the Bīja Vam and assigns the Jīvātma by means of Kumpakam and pronouncing the Bīja Ham, and making Pūrakam, Kumpakam and Rēcakam he assigns the five Brahma Mantras and the six Aṅka Mantras and the six Attuvākkaḷ[1] to the knee, the navel, the heart, the neck and the forehead, which have as their lords of origin (Kāraṇēcuvarar) Piramaṉ, Viṣṇu, Ruttiraṉ, Makēcuvaraṉ and Catāccivaṉ. After that he must consider his body as a holy (Tivya) body.

6. Aṅka Niyācam. In order of creation, maintenance and destruction the Mantras of the five faces of Śiva, Īcāṉam, Tatpuruṣam, Akōram, Vāmatēvam, Catyōjātam, are assigned to five parts of the body namely the head, the face, the heart, the 'private parts' (Kuhyam) and the feet. At the end he performs Tikkupantaṉam with the Astira Mantra, clapping of hands and the Cōtika Mudrā. Finally he shows the Mahā Mudrā and applies sacred ashes.

7. Antarmātirukā Niyācam, assigning to the seven Cakras of the Yogic system,[2] viz. Mūlātāram, Cuvātiṭṭāṉam (Skt. Svādhiṣṭāna), Maṇipūrakam, Aṉāhatam, Vicuttam (Skt. Viśuddhi), Ākñai (Skt. Ājñā) and Tuvātacāntam by means of Mantras consisting mainly of monosyllables (Mātirukai) Ōm Bam Bham Mam Ram Yam Lam etc. the respective gods, namely Gaṇapati, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Makēcuvarar, Catāciva and Haṃsaguru. For example: "In the four petals of the Mūlātāram — (the Cakras are conceived as lotus flowers with different numbers of petals) — assign by saying: Ōm Hām Vam Śam Ṣam Sam Kaṇapati with Cittilakṣmi and Vallavai, Thou who dwellest in the lotus of four petals, Haṃsasoham Haṃsasvāhā ("This swan am I, swan Svāhā")[3]" etc.

8. Pakir Mātirukā Niyācam. (Pakir=external). Assigning in 16 places of the head, the top, the forehead, the eyes etc. the 16 vowels and in other parts of the body the consonants, viz. k, c, ṭ, t, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, ś, ṣ, s, h, ḷ and kṣ with the Piraṇavam

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[1] Skt. Adhvan, "paths to liberation, as well as means of acquiring Karma for the soul, six in number", TL. Note, the sixth comes under rules for the dedication of the Linga (Agh. 23).

[2] Cp. Lindquist, op. cit. 190, where Brahmarandhra takes the place of Dvādaśānta.

[3] Haṃsa=swan may refer to Brahma and the formula thus be equal to the common advaitic expression: "I am Brahma". Cp. Apte s.v.

(Ōm) and the Pintu (the dot over a letter, Anusvāra) in an ascending and a descending order.

9. Aṣṭatrimcatkalā Niyācam. Assigning of 38 Kalaikaḷ to the respectives parts of the body[1] by means of Mantras containing Bījas. (The word Kalai has many meanings. In Śaivasiddhānta Kalai is "something which causes one to experience the results which in the form of health, sorrow and enjoyments stimulate actions, with a view to make the Āṇavam [one of the original evils (Malam)] disappear little by little".[2] The Tamil Lexicon says: "Specific power of any of the superior deities as manifested in an Avatāram or in a theophany for a specific purpose". Devasigamani Paṭṭar gives the explanation which fits the text best, The body both of Śiva and of the Ācāriyar is divided into five big parts corresponding to the five faces of Śiva, of which we just heard. These parts are accordingly Īcāṉam, Tatpuruṣam, Akōram, Vāmatēvam and Śatyōjātam. — The Kalai are smaller parts distributed over the bigger parts as follows:

Īcāṉam, the head, 5 Kalai.
Tatpuruṣam, the face, 4 Kalai.
Akōram, the body from the neck to the navel, 8 Kalai.
Vāmatēvam, the body from the navel to the ankle, 13 Kalai.
Śatyōjātam, the feet and the palm of the hand and the nose, 8 Kalai.[3])

10. Civahasta Pāvaṉai (imagining one's hands to be the hands of Śiva). Pronouncing the Mūla Mantra he places sandal, flower and rice (Akṣatai) in his right hand, performs the actions from Nirīkṣaṇam[4] to Amirutīkaraṇam, worships (Arucci) with Mantras, "assigns" with the five Pirama- and the six Aṅka Mantras and meditates on his hands as if they were having a form of light. Then he places his hands on his head saying the Civa Mantra, and looking

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[1] See under Aṅka Niyācam, above 78.

[2] Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai, 81. This is equal to Kalā, one of the Vidyā Tatvas. Cp. Srinivasa Iyengar, Outlines 290.

[3] Kalai also means art, of which there are 64 according to the Kāmasūtra (See Renou-Filliozat, L'Inde classique, II, appendice 11). — Of the three Nāṭis two are called Kalai (See above 94, note 2). There are also the Sixteen Kalai (TL s.v.) — Cp. below 115, note 3 — and another set of five Kalai of Śiva, for which see below 124, note 3.

[4] See above 74, note 2.

at them by divine sight he must consider (imagine, Pāvi) them to be the hands of Śiva.

11. Antariyākam. (Mental worship). Making the "I am Śiva imagination" (Civōhampāvaṉai) by thinking the sun to be in his heart, the Akkiṉi (Agni) in his navel and the moon between his eyebrows, he worships Śiva, who dwells in the disc of the sun, in his heart with the five sitting postures (Pañcācaṉam[1]), performs Hōmam to Akkiṉi and Pūcai to the moon with the eight "flowers": Ahimsa (non-violence), Intiriyanikkirakam (control of senses), Kṣamai (patience) etc. Then he takes flowers with both his hands and, imagining himself to be Śiva, he places them on his head.

Here ends the first part during which the Ācāriyar has prepared himself for the worship of Śiva — by making himself Śiva. He now begins the worship proper by asking permission from the Kṣētrapālaṉ[2] to enter the temple and worship Śiva.

2.

12. Kṣētrapālāṉukñai (permission from Kṣētrapālaṉ). Now he goes with the Brāhmans to the presence (Caṉṉiti) of Kṣētrapālaṉ and prepares ordinary Arkkiyam for doorworship. The Arkkiyam is prepared in the following manner: He performs Ācamaṉam and Cakalīkaraṇam[3] and cleans the vessel with the Astira Mantra and fills it with pure water saying the Heart-Mantra ending with

[1] Five kinds of sitting posture are assumed in worship, namely Aṉantācaṉam (Aṉantaṉ = a serpent which supports the earth), Kūrmācaṉam (Kūrmam = tortoise), Ciṅkācaṉam (Ciṅkam = lion), Patumācaṉam (Patumam = lotus) and Yōkācaṉam (Yoga). Cp. the 32 postures of Yoga (Lindquist, Die Methoden des Yoga, 35—36). — See below 116, note 1 about their use in worship.

[2] Kṣētrapālaṉ is either any local deity considered to rule over the Kṣētram, the surrounding country or a sphere of influence, or Bhairava, generally conceived as a manifestation of Śiva. See Monier Williams, op. cit. 83 and 85. Famous is his temple at Banaras where he is called Bhairon. The dog is his company or Vākaṉam. So already on a Pallava sculpture at Tiruparankunram, Mathurai district. See further Glasenapp: Der Hinduismus, 111 and Crooke: Religion and Folklore of Northern India, 96 with special reference to Rajputana: "... a sort of warden or doorkeeper at Śaiva temples. For texts see Farquhar, op. cit. 265. For iconography Jouveau-Dubreuil, op. cit. 26. He is found in many temples at Mathurai. Gopinatha Rao, op. cit. II:2, 495.

[3] Aṅka- and Kara Niyācam together. See above 79.

the word Vauṣaṭ and worships it (Pūci) seven times with the sacred syllable (Piraṇavam), dedicates it with Mantras and performs Camrakṣaṇam[1], Avakuṇṭaṇam[2], and Amirutīkaraṇam[3]. — Then he sprinkles the door pronouncing the Astira Mantra and does the same to the Vīra Gaṇapati on the right side and the Śakti Gaṇapati on the left and Mahālakṣmī in the middle and then to the nine Śaktis on the right side and the eight Śaktis on the left and to the Tarmatvārapālakar[4] on the right side and the Atarmatvārapālakar[4] on the left greeting them all saying: Ōm Hām Namaḥ. Then removing the obstacles on earth, in the sky (Ākācam) and in heaven (Tēvalōkam) he sprinkles the image (of Kṣētrapālaṉ) with the water for ablution (Arghya), removes the Nirmālyam[5], cleanses the image with the Kṣētrapāla Mūla Mantra, worships the Ātāracakti[6] and the Calācaṉaṅkaḷ[7] (here called Caṭuttācaṉam) and finally worships the seat of the idol and the idol with the Ācaṉamūrtti (the seat treated as a deity) Mantras.

Then he meditates on Kṣētrapālaṉ as he appears according to iconographic convention having the dog as his Vākaṉam (vehicle) and with the help of the Kṣētrapāla Mūla Mantra he invokes the god to be present in the idol (Āvāhaṉam), shows the "staying" (Stāpaṉam) Mudrā pronouncing the Mantra of the form of Kṣētrapālaṉ, anoints him with oil etc. (Apiṣēkam), decorates him and "assigns" the five Pirama- and the six Aṅka Mantras and shows the five Mudrās Tēnu- (Skt. Dhenu) (cow), Patma- (lotus), Liṅka- (Linga), Astira- (missile) and Mahā- (great) and offers (Nivēti) curd or parched grains (Pori). The ceremony ends with a prayer (Pirārt-

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[1] "Preservation, protection", TL. "Protection from evils" (Daksina P.). It is part of a ceremony for consecrating water for Pūcai. See Agh. 28.

[2] Literally=covering, used in a symbolic sense, cp. above 74, note 2.

[3] "Changing into nectar", MW. s.v., often as the last item in a series, viz. Camrakṣaṇam, Avakuṇṭaṇam and Amirutīkaraṇam. See above 74.

[4] The righteous and the unrighteous doorkeepers.

[5] The remainder of an offering made to a deity. See Stevenson, op. cit. 388, 389.

[6] The Śakti of support representing one part of the pedestal. See Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, 111. Cp. the bottom section of the pedestal, above 82, note 2.

[7] "Pedestals imagined for seating a Linga when bathing it for worship, six in number, viz. Aṉantar, Taṉmam, Ñāṉam, Vairākkiyam, Aicuvariyam, Patumam". TL.



Fig. 1. Mutrātaṇṭam, the key to the sleeping chamber of the gods.

taṉai): "Graciously give the Mutrātaṇṭam (that is the stick used for opening the door of the sleeping chamber of the gods), so that I may perform the Civa Pūcai through which all people on earth are protected." He then gives Nirōtārkkiyam (Arghya of impediment or control), shows the Namaskāra Mudrā and takes the Mutrātaṇṭam while making the Aṅkuca[1] Mudrā.

With the Mutrātaṇṭam in his hand he now proceeds to the sleeping chamber and performs the

13. Cayaṉālaya Pūcai. Cayaṉālayam, the sleeping chamber, is better known in the Tamil country as Paḷḷiyaṟai. Going to the entrance of the sleeping chamber he wakes up Śiva and Śakti from their sleep with song and music by Tēvatācis (=Devadāsīs; not allowed in temple services nowadays). He performs Pūcai to the door. Beginning with Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī and Mahālakṣmī he goes on to worship the river-goddesses.[2] He opens the door saying: "Oh, Thou who art known through the Vedānta, who hast the shape of all the worlds, who art omnipresent etc. graciously open the door." Removing the three obstacles (in earth, sky and heaven) he then enters and sprinkles water on the curtain of the bedstead pronouncing the Astira Mantra; removes the Nirmālyam; offers sacred water (Tīrttam) for the cleaning of the holy feet and hands pronouncing the Astira Mantra; decorates with new clothes, perfumes and flower garlands; worships (Pūcai) with the Mūla Mantra and the five Pirama- and the six Aṅka Mantras; offers (Nivēti) food, incense, water for ablutions (Arghya) and Pānsupāri (areca nuts

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[1] Aṅkucam is the elephant goad.

[2] It is remarkable that Subramanyan is not worshipped, although he invariably stands on the northern side of the entrance just as Gaṇapati stands on the southern side. His place is here taken by a goddess.

and betel leaves); makes the god mount the palanquin without the goddess and walks in procession with music and attendants to the place of the Linga and performs the Utpava Mudrā[1] to that idol and makes it (the form which slept in the chamber) join the Linga while scattering flowers. He then places the idol in its place.

3.

He then goes to the bathing hall (Snapaṉamaṇṭapam) to prepare for Pūcai. Sitting in the tortoise posture (or on a seat formed like a tortoise) he performs the next ceremony.

14. Stāṉa Cutti, Making the place clean. He sprinkles Arghya on the ground (Pūmi) and draws a quadrangle and performs the ceremonies beginning with Ācamaṉam (sipping) and ending with Āvāhaṉam (invoking to be present) to the goddess of earth (Pūmitēvi), meditates on her in the prescribed manner; worships with the Astira Mantra and offers Naivēttiyam and Arkkiyam.

15. Tiraviya Cutti. Tiraviya here means utensils, chiefly vessels.

He washes the necessary vessels pronouncing Mantras and pours water in the Varttaṉi[2] vessel and the Caṅku vessel (a vessel formed like a conch), performs Amirutīkaraṇam, worships (Pūci) the Varttaṉi vessel with the Civa Mantra and consecrates it with the five Pirama- and the six Aṅka Mantras and worships (Arucci) it and offers (Camarppi) the Linga- and Patma Mudrās.

Then he makes the five purification ceremonies to the water in the Caṅku vessel (Nirīkṣaṇam, Purōkṣaṇam, Tāṭaṉam, Apyukṣaṇam and Avakuṇṭaṉam[3]). He worships it (Pūci) saying the Mūla Mantra and consecrates it by pronouncing the Civa Mantra eleven times, offers five Mudrās and incense, and then he sprinkles water from the Caṅku (having now become holy water=Tīrttam) on the vessels for Pūcai and Hōmam.

After the vessels have been made ready comes the consecration of the water.

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[1] Skt. Udbhava=creation. It means that the god is created again in the Linga.

[2] Skt. Vardhanī, "a vessel of water in which Umā is invoked and worshipped" TL. For illustrations of many utensils see Raghu Vira: Implements and Vessels used in Vedic sacrifices, 283.

[3] See above 74, note 2.

16. Pāttiyam, Arukkiyam, Ācamaṉīyam, arranging the water for the feet (Pāttiyam), the hands (Arukkiyam) and the sipping (Ācamaṉīyam). Three squares are drawn representing Ātmatattuvam, Vityātattuvam and Civatattuvam[1] on the ground on which the pots are placed. Both squares and pots are worshipped (Pūci) with Bījas. The sacrificial grass (Kūrccam[2]) is addressed and asked to destroy the Rākṣasas who spoil the Karmas, and to bless this Karma so that it yields result, and dedicated (Arppaṇam) to the pot with water for the feet. Then he fills it with half a measure of water, adds saffron, white cuscus grass[3], sandal, harialli grass[4] and white mustard[5] with appropriate Mantras, which he dissolves with the Kavaca Mantra, and finally he consecrates the water for the feet with Mantras. — He similarly consecrates the other two water vessels with different herbs added.

17. This is an abbreviated ritual for the same purpose.

18. Pañcakavoiyam, the five products of the cow. In front of Śiva the floor is to be smeared with cow-dung. A quantity of rice is spread on the floor and nine squares drawn on it. The Ācāriyar then places parched grain, Darbha grass, raw rice and sesame thereon and arranges nine pots to stand on that bed. Milk is poured in the middle one after both the squares and the pot have been worshipped with Mantras. In the same way curd is poured into the pot to the east of it, ghee in the pot to the south, the cow's urine in the pot to the north, cowdung in the pot to the west and Darbha-water (Kucōtakam) in the pot to the northeast. The pots are consecrated with Mantras in an increasing number the first once etc. up to six times for the last one. The contents of all the pots are then mixed, beginning by putting the cowdung into the urine, these two into ghee etc. Then it is consecrated with Mantras along with the Darbha and churned. Finally the ceremonies of Camrakṣaṇam, Avakuṇṭaṇam and Amirutīkaraṇam will be performed.

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[1] See above 69, note 2.

[2] Kūrccam (Skt. Kūrca) is defined by Daksinamurtti Paṭṭar as "a substitute for the deities and for manes, whenever they are worshipped. It is made of 5 to 21 Darbha grass (in odd numbers) twisting them and making a knot on the top".

[3] Lamajja.

[4] Cynodon dactylon.

[5] Brassica.

19. Pañcāmirutam (the five ambrosias or nectars). On a heap of paddy east of the place where the five products of the cow were prepared nine squares are drawn and worshipped (Arucci). The Ācāriyar winds threads around the pots[1], washes them in water pronouncing the Astira Mantra, offers incense and places them on the squares leaving out four of them at the corners. He pours milk in the middle pot, fruit (plantain) in the one to the east, honey or ghee in the one to the south, sugar cane juice or tender coconut water in the one to the north, sugar or jaggery in the one to the west and offers Pūjā with the five Pirama Mantras and consecrates them in the same way as was done to the five products of the cow. Then he gathers all the stuff in the middle pot and invokes Śiva to be present (Āvāhaṉam) with the help of the Āvāhaṉam Mudrā and four others, offers incense and Arghya and Naivēttiyam, consecrates with the Mūla Mantra and closes with Tikkupantaṉam and Avakuṇṭaṉam. At the end he consecrates with the eleven Mantras.

20. Snapaṉa Pūcai (preparation for the sacred bath). On a bed of grain he draws a square, each side being five span, and a lotus inside it. He worships (Arucci) the drawing of the lotus and places the Varttaṉi vessel and nine other vessels on the bed. He winds thread around them, decorates them with tender mango shoots, coconuts flowers, sandal, raw rice with either turmeric or saffron and with clothes, after he has purified them and filled them with water to the accompaniment of the usual Mantras. He then invokes Catācivaṉ to be present in the middle vessel with Mantras and Mudrās and then he invokes Maṉōṉmaṇi (Pārvatī) to be present in the Varttaṉi vessel, performing the Sthāpana- and other ceremonies and offering the Lotus- the Yoni- and the Mahā Mudrās. Then he invokes the eight Lords of learning (Vittiyēcurar)[2] to be present in the other pots, placed in the eight quarters, worships (Arucci) them and offers rice, incense, light and Arghya and performs the Matirukā Niyācam and the Kalā Niyācam.

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[1] The thread has the significance of encircling and keeping the divine. Cp. Kāppu. See below 252.

[2] Skt. Vidyeśvara, "master of learning", TL. The eight Vittiyēcurar are gods invoked at the ceremony of preparing water etc. for bathing an idol, viz. Aṉantar, Cūkṣumar, Civōttamar, Ēkanēttirar, Ēkaruttirar, Tirimūrtti, Śrīkaṇṭar, Cikaṇṭi, (Agh. 38).

21. As a paranthesis is inserted number Uṣakālapūcai (worship at sunrise). With reference to another Āgama (the Uttarakāraṇāgama) it is said that the most excellent worship of the Mūlaliṅga[1] is the one which is finished just at sunrise. It consists of Apiṣēkam with the five products of the cow, the five ambrosias and the sacred bathing water and of Naivēttiyam and other ceremonies. This must be done to the goddess also.

Another minor function takes place immediately afterwards.

22. Tirumañcaṉam (ceremonial bath). When Śiva was solemnly taken in procession the previous night to the sleeping chamber, Kaṅkatēvi (Ganges), who lives in the matted hair of Śiva, ran quickly away as soon as she saw the goddess Maṉōṉmaṇi. From that hour all sacred water places (Tīrttam) are her abode and become holy. In order to bring her back to Śiva's hair she is made to enter a vessel filled with river water. The vessel is then very nicely decorated with mangoshoots, a coconut, a Kūrccam made of Darbhagrass, clothes, sandal, etc. and carried on the head of an elephant or on the head of a Paricārakar (temple servant), with chowries (whiskers of the yak) and music, to the Linga and poured on its head. "If the Apiṣēkam is made to the god Nanti all things will be successful (Cittiyākum). If one performs this Apiṣēkam every day according to rules to any of the following; the sacrificial altar, the flagstaff, the tree[2], the top of the pinnacle or the head of Paramacivaṉ, there will be increase of wealth to the village and to the king; the grace of the goddess of wealth will be successful; there will be good health to all living beings. Sacred water from the river is the best, from the tank it is medium and from the well it is of inferior quality".

Everything is now ready for the daily worship to begin. The times for the regular Pūcai are as follows: Kālacanti seven and a

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[1] The Linga in the Garbhagṛha or the central shrine, which is never moved.

[2] A temple has its sacred tree, the so called Stala Virukṣam, which is connected with the place and not with the god. The big temple at Tiruvidamarutur, Tanjore district, has a Marutu (terminalia alata).

Narayana Ayyar, Origin and early history of Śaivism in South India, 309 ff. Narayana Ayyar's explanation of the tree worship as originating in the assembling of people in its shade seems to be too simple.

Daksinamurtti Paṭṭar adds as objects of efficacious Apiṣēkam; Ṭiṇṭi and Muṇṭi (watchmen in the inner shrine /Garbha Gṛha/) and Śivas bull.

half Nāḻikai after sunrise[1], Upacantikālam three and three quarter Nāḻikai after that, Uccikkālam three hours (=one watch, Yāmam) after that, Piratōṣakālam three and three quarter Nāḻikai before sunset, Cāyaṅkālam three and three quarter Nāḻikai after that, and Arttayāmam three and three quarter Nāḻikai after that. Uṣakālam and Mahāpiratōṣapūcai[2] are not included.

4.

23. Kālacantipūcai consists of Apiṣēkam, decoration and Pūcai to Cūriyaṉ, Kaṇēcaṉ, Mahēcuvar and the others, and to the attendant deities. Special Pūcai must be performed to the Mūlaliṅga and the Ampāḷ (the goddess). Then follows Nivētaṉam to Kaṇēcaṉ, Mūlaliṅga, the idols of Mahēcuvar and the others, to the attendant deities, and to Kauri[3] with incense and light. Sacrifices, fire rites and "permanent festivals" (Nittiyōtsavam) are performed and observed and Pūcai offered to Caṇṭēcar[4]. Accordingly the next item is

24. Cūriya Pūcai. First the sun (Cūriyaṉ) must be worshipped either between east and southeast or in the northeast.

25. The order of worship. The Ācāriyar stands in front of the sun (the image) wipes his hands and then with the help of a Mantra considers them to be wet; assigns (Niyācam)[5] to the fingers and the palm of the hand with the help of other fingers different Mantras; "covers" (Avakuṇṭaṉam) with the Kavaca Mantra; purifies the body with the Mūla Mantra of the sun; assigns appropriate Mantras to the heart, the head, the hairtuft, arms and the eye and pronouncing the Astira Mantra he performs the Tikkupantaṉam with both hands; assigns the Mūla Mantra with the help of the Mahā Mudrā to all his limbs, and considers himself to be the sun.

With the syllable Ōm he "establishes" (Tāpi=consecrate or create) Arghya; sprinkles water on both sides of the door. He then worships (Arucci) the pedestal of the image from various directions, its four supporting lions and the lotus seat, on which Cūriyaṉ stands and the pericarp of the lotus (Karṇikai) with Mantras and Mudrās.

[1] A Nāḻikai is equal to 24 minutes.
[2] See below 144.
[3] Skt. Gaurī (Pārvatī).
[4] Skt. Caṇḍēśvara. "the fierce leader of Śiva's servants", Stevenson, 385.
[5] The object is the deity contained in the Mantras. Cp. above 79.

The seat of the sun is then worshipped (Pūci) and the form (Mūrtti) of the sun assigned (Niyācam) to the seat. The "eye" is offered[1] and Puṣpāñjali[2] performed, and the spot having the colour of dawn, which shines in the forehead is drawn out and considered to be in the Añjali. Pronouncing the Mūla Mantra he then invokes (the sun) to be present with the help of the Āvāhaṉa Mudrā; continues to show the "Fixing" (Stāpaṉa) Mudrā and so on, offers incense and light and Arghya and meditates on Cūriyaṉ.

He then assigns the appropriate Mantras to the different parts of the body beginning with the heart saying first the Cūriya Kāyatri (verse in the Gāyatrī meter addressed to the sun). Then he offers water for the feet and for sipping and performs ablution (Apiṣēkam) of the image of the sun, and then with all the ingredients and with the Lotus-, the Body- and the Yōṉi Mudrā he worships the goddesses Uṣai and Pratiyuṣai (dawn and sunset). The whole ritual is a replica of the worship of the main gods. He therefore naturally goes on to worship the attendant deities in the different precincts (Āvaraṇam[3]) of the central shrine, which in this case means the petals of the lotus, on which the image stands.[4] The Mantras for the heart, head, hairtuft and armour are taken from the heart etc. of the sun and assigned to the southeast, the northeast, the southwest and the northwest petals which are considered to be the limbs of the sun. This is the first Āvaraṇam. The next holds the eight "planets" (Kirakam, viz. the moon, the five planets, Rāhu and Kētu[5]) which are worshipped (Pūci) with Mantras. — In the third Āvaraṇam the 10[6] guardians of the quarters

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[1] Probably Nēttira Mudrā, "A hand-pose in which the thumb and the little finger are linked together and the other three fingers are held erect in front of the eyes", TL. But cp. below 332.

[2] A gesture with both hands joined together.

[3] The word Āvaraṇam has the meaning of shelter, covering etc., TL. Synonymous with Prākāra, Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, 201. It refers to the sheltering corridors surrounding the central shrine. Both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples may have up to seven Āvaraṇas, but the usual number is five, Kāmikam, 1216. See Radha Krishna, Tirumāliruñjōlaimalai, 159. The word is also used for encircling factors, sometimes concrete as the petals of the lotus seat on the pedestal, sometimes held to be gods and powers as here. Kramrisch, op. cit. 201, 338.

[4] See Jouveau-Dubreuil, Iconographie, 118.

[5] See below 201.

[6] Also "up" (Brahmā) and "down" (Viṣṇu).

are worshipped with Mantras, Naivēttiyam, incense, light, and Arghya is offered and given to the sun. He praises the sun as surrounded by door keepers and Śaktis and standing on a throne resting on four lions surrounded by the moon, the planets and the stars. He rests on a lotus seat and has in his two hands two lotus flowers etc. The description ends with a prayer for protection.

With the help of the Mūla Mantra he then joins the sun to his heart and worships Tējaccaṇṭēcuvar[1], makes to him a Nivētaṉam of the old offerings (Nirmāliyam) to the sun and then throws it away.

26. Kaṇēca Pūcai. He now proceeds to the shrine of Kaṇēcaṉ and sits down in the front hall facing north. He performs Pirāṇāyāmam[2] and Viyāpaka[3] Niyācam with twelve Mantras for the different parts of the body and then Cakalīkaraṇam. Preparing sacred water in the usual way and performing the purifying ceremonies he worships the door keepers and the rat (Mahāmūṣika, the Vākaṉam of Kaṇēcaṉ) with Naivēttiyam etc. and enters the shrine. He then worships with Mantras in the four directions and worships the altar from bottom (Ātāracakti) to top (Patmācaṉam) in a way similar to what was done to the pedestal of the sun. He performs Viyāpaka Niyācam to the idol in the respective places, worships the seat and the idol and creates the Vityātēkam[4], worships the eyes and invokes Gaṇapati to be present, offers Mudrās and meditates in the usual way and then worships with ablution (Apiṣēkam), decoration etc. as it was done to the god in the sunrise worship. Worship is also made to Cittilakṣmi and Vallapā, the goddesses on either side of the idol.

Then follows in the usual order of the ritual

27. Worship in the precincts of Viṉāyakar (Kaṇēcaṉ). First the five Pirama- and the six Aṅka Mantras are worshipped (Pūci. The Mantras represent the deities.). In the second precinct the eight forms of Gaṇapati are worshipped as residing in the eight quarters. They are Vikṉēcuvar, Makākarṇa, Kajavaktra, Makōtara, Ēkatanta, Makākāya, Vikṉēca, Kaṇātipa. In the third precinct the

[1] Cp. note 4 on 111 above.

[2] See above 71, note 4.

[3] Skt. Vyāpaka, omnipresence.

[4] Vityātēkam, Skt. Vidyā-deha="A Śakti in the form of Mantras, as the embodiment of knowledge". TL. See above 75.

16 Gaṇapatis are worshipped. In the fourth precinct the Ācāriyar visualizes in his imagination four trees[1], in the southeast the Cantāṉam with Brahmā and Sarasvatī at its foot, in the southwest the Mantāram with Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī at its foot, in the northwest the Kaṟpakam with Mahēcuvar and Pavānī at its foot and in the northeast the sandal wood tree with Kāmatēvar and Rati at its foot and worships them. In the fifth precinct the ten watchmen of the world (the eight gods of the quarters and the god for 'up' and for 'down') are worshipped.

Nivētaṉam is performed, incense, light and Arghya are offered, sacrifices are made to the door keepers and to the rat and to the gods of the eight quarters, the great sacrificial altar is worshipped and all ceremonies of attention are performed.

He is now at the door of the central shrine but before entering 28. Tuvāra (door) Pūcai must be performed according to the rules for Śiva worship. He worships Gaṇapati with his consorts, sprinkles water on the door saying the Astira Mantra and scatters flowers in the door passage. He worships the door paying attention separately to the threshold, the posts and the lintel etc. and meditates on Ṭiṇṭi and Muṇṭi and worships them. They are two fierce doorkeepers standing on each side of the entrance. A full iconographic description is given in the meditation.[2] He then worships and meditates on Viruṣapam (Vṛṣabha, the bull); offers Arghya; invokes him to be present and assigns the Viruṣapa Kāyatri and offers Naivēttiyam to all door keepers (Tuvārapālar) as well. — In order to remove the obstacles in the world of the gods, in the sky and on earth, he stands near the entrance and looks at the sky with divine sight (Tivya Tiruṣṭi); performs the Nārāca Mudrā and scatters flowers with the appropriate Mantras. He touches the earth three times with his right great-toe, pronouncing the Astira Mantra and rings the bell three times in order once again to remove the three kinds of obstacles. Saying a Mantra and placing his right foot first he enters the shrine. Here the first thing he has to do is 29. Kālacantiyil Karppāvaraṇa Pūcai. That is the morning Canti worship of the precincts of the Garbha Gṛha[3], the inner

[1] Cp. Pañca-tāru, the *five* divine trees of Svarga, TL.

[2] Agh., 50. Cp. Pūrva Kāraṇam, chapter 30. Slokas 180—85.

[3] The original meaning of womb gives significance to the temple as the centre and source of creation. Cp. Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 440, and Kramrisch, op. cit. 27 et passim.

sanctuary where the Mūla Linga is placed. He worships the Tēkaḷi (the passage between the outer and the inner door) with the Astira Mantra and performs Pūcai to deities of the quarters from Nirṛti southwest to Īcāṉam northwest with special attention to the nine Śaktis at the Kōmuki (Skt. Go-mukhī, a gargoyle in the form of a cow's head projecting from the northern wall of the Garbha Gṛha and serving as outlet of liquids used in Apiṣēkam) and the seven "ministers" (Kuravar, viz. Catācivar, Aṉantar, Śrīkaṇṭar, Ampikāguru, Kuhar, Viṣṇu and Brahmā).

30. Kālacantiyil Liṅkacutti, cleaning the Linga. Saying Mantras, he pours water in the vessel for Apiṣēkam and invokes the nine Holy Waters (Tīrttaṅkaḷ) to be present and offers them incense with the eleven Mantras. Then he performs Tikkupantaṉam and Amirutīkaraṇam and pours the holy water over the Linga saying the Mūla Mantra. He then removes the Nirmālyam and washes the Linga with sacred water; places a flower on its head and then cleanses the altar with grass all the while pronouncing the appropriate Mantras.

Not only the external equipment for worship must be carefully purified but also the Mantras, which might become impure through contact with teeth, tongue and lips. He therefore performs

31. Mantiracutti. The Ācāriyar assigns the Mantras of the seat and the idol (Mūrtti) to his seat and his heart, applies red sandal to his forehead, puts a flower on his head saying the Mūla Mantra (that is he treats himself as Śiva). In order to remove the impurity coming to the Mantras he now suppresses the Ōm Ham Pījākṣaram in the Cuḻumuṉai[1], makes control (Kumpakam) of it from the Mūlātāram[2] to the head and pronounces it through the Nātāntam (one of the 16 mystic centres of the body)[3], recites the Mūla Mantra ten times and consecrates with the eleven Mantras. — He next performs Pūcai to

32. Ātāracakti, who is the bottom of everything residing in the tortoise. Here it means the bottom of the pedestal on which the idol is fixed. She is, however, meditated upon as an image with her attributes. — Next he performs Pūcai to the

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[1] See above 94, note 2.
[2] The first Cakra of the Yoga system, Lindquist, Yoga, 190.
[3] See TL sub Cōṭacakalai.

33. Aṉantācaṉam[1], which is the part of the stone which is considered to be Brahmā, with a Mantra for a deity of each of the eight quarters.

He proceeds to worship the

34. Cimmācaṉam, the throne or more literally the Lion seat, including the ornamental structure around it (Paṭṭikai) up to the "ear" (Aṉukarṇam) — and the

35. Yōkācaṉam, the upper ornamental structure, and the

36. Patumācaṉam, which means worshipping the lotus flower, which he must visualize in his imagination on top of the upper ornamental structure. He worships the eight petals and the filament (Kēcaram), top, middle and bottom. — Next comes the

37. Vimalācaṉa Pūcai. Assuming three halls in the pericarp of the lotus he worships the hall of the sun in the Brahmā portion which is the tip of the petal, and he worships the hall of the moon in the Viṣṇu portion, which is the tip of the filament, and he worships the hall of fire in the Rudra portion, which is in the tip of the pericarp.

38. Āvāhaṉam, invoking Śiva to be present, is the next part of the ritual. He worships (Arucci) the seat and the idol (Mūrtti) with flowers, and meditating on the Mūrtti of Śiva as a form of light with his body straight and stiff like a stick (Taṇṭākāram)[2] with his limbs not separated from the body and pervading the Parapintu[3], which is the embodiment of the essence of Śiva, he

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[1] There are five "seats" used in different kinds of worship. They may be visualized in the Ācāriyaṉ's imagination. Agh. quotes Kāraṇākamam saying: "One must worship the Yoga-seat during the Āvāhaṉam, the Simma-(lion) seat during Apiṣēkam, the Lotus-seat during Aruccaṉai (Skt. Arcanā, offering of flowers etc., but the distinction between Aruccaṉai and Pūcai is not clear), the Vimalaseat (Skt. Vi-mala=stainlessness) when offering Naivēttiyam and the Aṉanta-seat (Skt. An-anta=endless, here probably meaning the serpent supporting the earth in the South-East), when the deity is entertained with praise song and dance". Cp. above 101, note 1.

[2] Skt. Daṇḍākāra, translation in accordance with TL.

[3] Skt. Bindu, lit.=drop or dot, is part of the conception of the body (and the pedestal, which is modelled on it) as a combination of organs and power centra. Above the 6:th and highest Cakra (See Lindquist, Die Methoden des Yoga, 190), the Ājñā Cakra, are 8 Bindus (called Bindu, Rōdhinī, Nāda, Nādānta, Śakti, Vyāpinī, Samanī and Unmanī or Manonmanī). These are above the Sadāśiva Tatva (cp. above 73) and below the Śiva and Śakti Tatva, which is in the Mahābindu (=Parapintu), the ninth

assigns it (Niyācam) and continues to assign the Mantras from Īcāṉam to Catyōjātam[1] with the Pījākṣaras of the five Brahma Mantras in the "straight limb" (Taṇṭapaṅkī) form.[2] He then assigns the five Brahma Mantras to the five heads of the Śiva Mūrtti beginning from the Īcāṉam. This is called Muṇṭapaṅkīkramam. The mouths of the five faces are then worshipped with Mantras of praise, i.e. ending in Namaḥ, the Vaktrapaṅkīmuṟai.[3] The 38 Kalai are assigned and the Śrī Kaṇṭa Niyācam performed and then Catācivaṉ is meditated upon. In the iconographical description that follows, two alternatives are given for the equipment of the hands. The figure of Catācivaṉ is considered to appear over the Linga with the Śakti. The Vityātēkam is assigned and the three eyes (Nētratrayam) with their respective Mantras, and the god is thus invoked to be present. Alternate rituals are given from the Kāraṇākamam and the Kāmikākamam. The latter excepts from Āvāhaṉam the Cuyampu Linga and the Taivika Linga. Neither of them is man-made and they need not therefore be called into existence.[4] For other Lingas the order of Āvāhaṉam is as follows: The Ācāriyar imagines Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Mahēcuvar and Catācivaṉ to be in his heart, neck, the centre of his eyebrows, head and the Tuvātacāntam[5] respectively and through Kumpakam he identifies them all with Catācivaṉ and through Rēcakam he makes Catācivaṉ join the flower he is holding in his hand. Thinking the flower to have the splendour of ten million moons he makes obeisance by lifting his hands to the eyebrow. He meditates on it as having the form of Pintu. He expells his breath and looking at it with divine sight he pronounces the Heart Mantra and performs the Utpava

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Bindu, where the Brahmarandhra is (Nalini Kanta Brahma, Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā, 295).

[1] See above 75.

[2] The Niyācam made straight like a stick is called Taṇṭapaṇkīkaraṇam (Daksinamurtti Paṭṭar).

[3] For Śiva as Pañcavaktra and his five manifestations see Meinhard, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Śivaismus nach den Purāṇas, 14 ff., where material from the Purāṇas and Hemādri (Caturvargacintāmaṇi, "an encyclopaedia of orthodox Hindu observances", Farquhar) has been made use of. The instrumental aspect of the rites is stressed (20).

[4] For details of Lingas see Gopinatha Rao: Elements of Hindu Iconography, II:1, 75 ff.

[5] Cp. above 101, note 4.

Mudrā and invokes it to be present on the head of the Linga[1] with the help of the Mūla Mantra and the five Brahma Mantras. He then worships with Mantras and thus performs Stāpaṉam (fixing) Caṉṉitāpaṉam (fixing the divine presence) Caṉṉirōtaṉam (circumscribing the divine presence to a particular spot or place, TL), Avakuṇṭaṉam, Paramīkaraṇam[2] and finally the Tikkupantaṉam. — Then follows a prayer: "O, Lord, who protects the world, graciously be present in this Linga till the end of the worship (Pūcai).

Thus praying he offers "water of welcome" (Cuvākatārkkiyam) and worships with the six Limb Mantras, offers three handfuls of flowers (Puṣpāñcali) with the Civa Kāyatri Mantra and shows in the five faces five Mudrās with five Mantras, and offers in the six parts of the body the Five-face Mudrā, the Mahā Mudrā and the Añjali Mudrā. Then he offers sacred water for the feet, the hands and for sipping and also incense and light. He finally recites (Jepi) the Rudra Cūkta- and the Vyōmavyāpipata Mantra.

Now everything is ready for the

39. Apiṣēkam. He worships the Lion seat and places a flower on the head of the Linga with a Mantra and then he prays as follows: "O God of gods, Protector (Irakṣippavar) of the world, Thou with five faces, God with the up-turned face (Ūrttuvamukam)! Come for Apiṣēkam for the protection of the soul!" He then takes the vessel saying the Mūla Mantra and worships three spots of the vessel representing the sun, the moon and the fire and consecrates it with the Mūla Mantra.

The Apiṣēkam which is now to follow will give all success (Cittikaḷ) if performed "when sun and moon are not", but will give no Palaṉ, if that time is missed. Now this time is very rare, but it exists "Cūkkumamāka"[3] in that sun and moon stand for the upward and

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[1] It is worth noticing that while above 117 Catācivaṉ is considered to appear with Śakti above the Linga, he is now placed on the Linga. The distinction is very clear in Tamil.

[2] After performing the Hand- and Limb Niyācam the Ācāriyar joins all limbs together through Śiva, who is in the form of the Basic Mantra, by means of the two thumbs and the two indexfingers and imagines them to be Śiva in the shape of light. This is called Paramīkaraṇam (Daksinamurtti Paṭṭar) with ref. to Śivārcanā Candrikā, 16).

[3] For Sūkṣma, the subtle body or all-pervasive spirit see Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 128—29.

the downward breath respectively. If one keeps control of breath, it is as if there were neither sun nor moon. — Water, a different number of vessels for each time of the day, scented with perfumes must be poured into a small pot. This is to be taken up in the manner of Pūrakam and brought in the manner of Rēcakam and controlled with both hands at the bottom and on top in the way of Kumpakam and poured as a libation (Apiṣēkam Cey) on the head of the Linga four inches in length and as thick as the horn of a cow. Again saying the Heart Mantra he performs Apiṣēkam with the unguent and saying the Armour Mantra he smears paddy flour on the Linga altar. With the five Brahma Mantras and the six Aṅka Mantras he performs Apiṣēkam of the five products of the cow and the five nectars. Consecrating[1] the Vyōmavyāpi (pervading the sky) Mantra he offers incense, light and Arghya and then ghee, milk, curd, honey and jaggery juice, fruit juice and the milk of a tender coconut with the Astira Mantra. He consecrates water mixed with Darbha grass and water mixed with Bael[2] flowers and performs Apiṣēkam with Arghya added. Next comes Apiṣēkam on the altar with water, to which yellow powder has been added. Pure water is then used with the Mūla Mantra and with the same Mantra water scented with the powder of musk, green sugar cane and saffron. With the Heart Mantra he offers flowers, Naivēttiyam, incense and light and again pure water, and then again he pronounces the Mūla Mantra offering water from the nine bathing pots through the "sieve-vessel" (Cahasratārai) and pure water saying the eleven Mantras. Flowers must be placed on the head.

The idol is then wiped with a clean cloth and dressed and decorated in colours and manners appropriate to the time of the day, golden colour in the morning, red at noon and so on. — He worships the goddess Maṉōṉmaṇi, with flowers and offers Mantras, Naivēttiyam, incense, light and Arghya and then prepares (Arucci) the Lotus seat for

40. Āvaraṇa[3] Pūcai, i.e. worship of the gods housed in the five cloisters (precincts) surrounding the central shrine. These protective circles are more prominent in south Indian temples than

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[1] This is literal translation. Tamil Apimantiri.

[2] Aegle Marmelos, sacred to Śiva.

[3] Cp. above 112, note 3.

in the north.[1] They may be spoken of in a figurative sense as we saw in the case of Kaṇecaṉ.[2]

The first Āvaraṇa worship consists in offering Pūcai according to the rules for the Vaktrapaṅkī Niyācam (Vaktra=mouth) with the five Brahma Mantras to the five faces (of the Linga) and the six Aṅka Mantras to the four intermediary quarters, to the middle and to the northeastern part of the middle.[3]

41. The second Āvaraṇa Pūcai consists in worshipping the eight Vittiyēcuvarar[4] and their Śaktis represented by the eight petals on the upper "ornamental structure[5]" with Mantras of praise.

42. The third Āvaraṇa Pūcai means worshipping eight deities residing in between the eight quarters as for instance between east and northeast etc. Their names are: Nanti, Mahākāḷa, Pruṅki, Gaṇapati, Vṛṣabha, Skanta, Devī (!), Caṇṭēcura and their Śaktis are: Kuṇṭalī, Patminī, Hrātinī, Prunkiṇī, Patrā, Tevayānī, Umā, Rūpinī. These deities are represented on the Kaṇṭam (Skt. Kaṇṭha). According to Kramrisch it is the neck supporting the crowning part on the truncated form of the Śikhara, the superstructure or "tower" of the temple.[6] It may, however, refer to the structure around the Linga or even be used symbolically.

43. The fourth Āvaraṇa Pūcai means worshipping the lords of the eight quarters on the lower "ornamental structure[5]" Their names are as usual Indra, Agni etc. In other books their Śaktis are also given.

44. The fifth Āvaraṇa Pūcai means worshiping the ten weapons in the foundation stone (Ātāracilai) namely: Vajra, Śakti, Taṇṭa, Kaṭka, Pāca, Aṅkuca, Katā, Tricūla, Patma and Cakra[7], each for one quarter, the last two to the right of Īcāṉam and left of Niruti (Skt. Nirṛti) respectively. Their Śaktis are also worshipped

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[1] Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, 201.

[2] See above 113, note.

[3] Īcāṉam stands also for the upward direction, because the Linga is placed not exactly in the centre but slightly north-east, i.e. in the Īcāṉa direction. See Kramrisch, op. cit. 232 note 13. Īcāṉam may also stand for the middle in case of the five Mantras.

[4] Cp. above 109, note 2.

[5] Paṭṭikai, see Kramrisch, op. cit. 149 and 395.

[6] Kramrisch, op. cit. 180.

[7] For information on their iconographical significance see Gopinatha Rao Iconography, I, 1:1 ff.

and they are Vilāsiṉī, Rūpiṇī, Tāriṇī, Vimukī, Nirmalī, Turmalī, Matikrāhī, Cumāliṉī, Cutirucī, Hamsamālī.

The Kāraṇāgama sums up the Āvaraṇa Pūcai thus: the first Āvaraṇam (=Āvaraṇa Pūcai) is made with the five Brahma Mantras and the six Aṅka Mantras, the second Āvaraṇam with the Vittiyēcuvarar, the third Āvaraṇam with the Kaṇēcuvarar (Gaṇeśas), the fourth Āvaraṇam with the Tikpālar and the fifth Āvaraṇam with the ten weapons.

Now follows

45. Tattuvārccaṉai, that is worship (Arucci) of the "reals" or elements of existence, Tatvas.[1] On the lower ornamental structure (Paṭṭikai) in the Brahmā portion the 25 Tatvas are worshipped with Mantras of praise and then Brahmā as the Ātma Tatva together with Sarasvatī with meditation and consecration by means of the Brahmā Gāyatrī. The Ācāriyar then worships Viṣṇu with Lakṣmī in the Viṣṇu portion of the altar, which is from the neck (Kaṇṭam) to the upper ornamental structure. Viṣṇu comprises the following Tatvas: Māyā, Kāla, Niyati, Kalā, Vityā, Rāka and Puruṣa. They are found on the list of doctor Paranjoti under Aśuddha Māyā except the Puruṣa. The worship consists of meditation and reading the Viṣṇu Gāyatrī.

Rudra represents the Śiva Tatva, the Śakti Tatva, the Cātākya (Sādākhya) Tatva, the Īcuvara Tatva and the Cuttavittiyā (Śuddha Vidyā)-Tatva.[2] He is residing in the upper ornamental structure with Rautrī and is consecrated with the Rudra Gāyatrī and meditated upon.

In the portion of Makēcuvarar, which is above the previous portion, the Ācāriyar worships the Subtle (Puriyaṣṭaka or Sūkṣma) body. The Tatvas are Ahaṅkāra, Manas, Buddhi and the five Tanmātras[1]: Kanta, Raca, Rūpa, Sparca, and Capta. Makēcurar who according to the Anal Āgama gives all Citti, is consecrated with Makēcuvari by means of the Gāyatrī beginning: "Ōm Tanmahēcāya".

Finally Catācivaṉ with Maṉōṉmaṇi is worshipped in the Catāciva portion. He stands for the Sthūla Tatva, the Sūkṣma Tatva and the Kāraṇa Tatva, i.e. the gross element, the subtle element and the element of cause.

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[1] Paranjoti, Saiva Siddhānta, 113.

[2] Compare the series of Tatvas under Suddha Māyā with Paranjoti i.e. Nāda, Bindu, Sādākhya, Mahēśvarī, Śuddha Vidyā. Op. cit. 113.

According to rules the Vimalācaṉam is now worshipped (Arucci) to prepare for

46. Naivēttiyam. The Ācāriyar places the vessel containing Havis[1] with condiments on a tripod, pronounces the Astira Mantra and rings the bell, when all Acurar, Rākṣacar and Picācukaḷ will run away.[2] He first performs Nivētaṉam of Havis and Tāmpūlam (betel and areca) to Vikṉēcuvarar (Kaṇēcaṉ) at the entrance and then worships (Arucci) the vessel containing Havis placed in front of Īcuvarar with the Astira Mantra, performs the five rites of purification, pronounces the Mūla Mantra in the midst of the Havis, places a flower and offers the Cow Mudrā and other Mudrās and saying the Armour Mantra he performs Amirutīkaraṇam.[3] He sprinkles water and performs Pariṣēcaṉam[4] (Sprinkling water around the plate when taking food, appropriately used here) and then he offers water for the Āpōcaṉam, i.e. sipping before and after taking food with Mantras. He continues to recite the "food hymn" (Aṉṉacūktam) beginning with the words Prāṇāya Svāhā[5] and thinks of himself as giving food in the right hand of Kauri (Pārvatī) and of that food as passing over to Śiva's hand. At the end of the hymn he offers Āpōcaṉam again and puts the vessel with Havis in another place. He then sprinkles pure water three times pronouncing the Astira Mantra for the god to wash hand, face and feet. Different kinds of food are offered to the different five faces of Śiva.[6] The food offered to the faces of the Linga is to be considered as the juice of a wood apple damaged by disease (lit. eaten by an elephant).

Water for sipping and for washing hands and feet is then offered three, one and five times and then a face cloth for cleaning the mouth, and then a spiced pill with Tāmpūlam.

At the end of this performance the Aṉantācaṉam[7] is prepared (worshipped) for the entertainments (Upacāram). Incense and light

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[1] The old term for offerings made to the gods in sacrificial fire, (TL), has here the meaning, also given by TL, "Rice cooked without straining the Conjee" (porridge).

[2] The last clause is quoted from the Kāraṇākamam as if the author was not particularily interested in giving the information.

[3] =Making ambrosia or nectar. See above 74, note 2.

[4] See above 87, note 3.

[5] Mānava Śrauta Sūtra 9. 2. 4.

[6] Cp. Stevenson, 392.

[7] See above 116, note 1.

are waved and offered with appropriate intervals of time to the five faces (of the Linga) and to the limbs. The Ācāriyar washes his hands and offers a solution of saffron or turmeric and lime[1], sacred ashes, presents a mirror, an umbrella, a chowry[2] fan, water for hands, feet and sipping, flowers with Mantras etc. in accordance with the time fixed for each entertainment and then arranges for the chanting of the four Vedas, Sūtras, Purāṇas and "songs of the way of wisdom" and in the dancing hall music, singing and dancing to the honour of Īśvara.

47. Worship of Pōka Cakti. He now proceeds to the first Maṇḍapa, where the image of the Bhoga Śakti (The Śakti of Śiva in his Sadāśiva aspect, TL) is, worships her and invokes her to be present by showing the appropriate Mudrās. He performs the Mātirukā[3] Niyācam and the Niyācam of the 25 Kalaikaḷ[4], sprinkles Arghya water in order to perform Apiṣēkam by means of the Mūla Mantra of the Śakti, removes her old clothes, wipes her body with another piece of cloth and decorates her with clothes, sandal, flowers and golden jewels. He worships the Lotus seat and consecrates with Mantras the Gāyatrī ten times and brings her into the heart of the Devī.[5] Then follows meditation and then worship in the first Āvaraṇam of the five Brahma Mantras with Śaktis and of the six Aṅka Mantras. The Śaktis of the eight quarters with Makēcuvari in the middle are worshipped in the second Āvaraṇam. Then again the ten Śaktis of Indra and others are worshipped, Sarasvatī taking her place to the right of north east and Lakṣmī her place to the left of south west. Naivēttiyam, incense, light and Arghya will be offered.

The retinue (Parivāram) of the god[6] will now be attended to.

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[1] Nīrājaṇam, "solution of saffron and lime waved in front of persons to ward off evil" TL.

[2] Cāmaram, "bushy tail of the yak used as a flyflapper for idols or as royal insignia", TL.

[3] See above 102.

[4] See above 103.

[5] "The Mantra of a Devatā is the Devatā" Woodroffe. Introduction, 88.

[6] The gods of the retinue are listed according to the Suprapētākamam: "In the Garbha Gṛha Civaṉ, in the First hall Kauri, in front of Īcuvarar Viruṣapam, on his left side Cūriyaṉ, in the south east corner Mahēcuvarar, to the south the Śaktis, in the southern part of the enclosure of the gods (Tevakōṣṭam) Takṣiṇā-mūrtti, in the south west Gaṇeśa, in the west Viṣṇu,

48. Parivāra Pūcai. Gods of the first two Āvaraṇaṅkaḷ are enumerated. They will be worshipped in their forms (Cakaḷāṅka Pūcai) and receive offerings of Naivēttiyam, incense, light and Hōmam. For the last item rules follow under

49. Nittiya Hōmam. This is a ritual of its own with a great many details. We shall have to be content with a summary. A full account would require a separate chapter, but is not necessary for our use.

In the Īcāṉa quarter of either the Yāka Maṇṭapam (the sacrificial hall) or the temple kitchen the Ācāriyar builds a Hōma pit (Kuṇṭam) either round or square with three lines or ridges (Mēkalai) around it. It must be one cubit high of which $^3/_8$ above ground and $^5/_8$ sunk into the floor.[1] He places the Arghya vessel on the top ridge, sprinkles the pit with water, smears cowdung pronouncing the Astira Mantra. He performs the 18 Saṃskāras to the Kuṇṭam, i.e. the Kuṇṭam and subsequently the fire will be treated as a child and all the "sacraments[2]" performed on its behalf. Five Kalais[3] one for each direction including the middle are worshipped, three threads tied round the Kuṇṭam, and Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and other gods are worshipped. He then takes Darbha grass in his hand and performs the marking (Ullēkaṉam) with the help of a Mantra, i.e. he draws lines for the Sthaṇḍila or the sacrifical ground. In the middle he places Darbha grass in four directions (Catuṣpātam

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in the north west Subramanyan, north of him Jyēṣṭā Tēvi and Lakṣmī, west of the Kōmuki (Skt. Go-mukhī, gargoyle for letting out the liquids used in Apiṣēkam) Brahmā, north west of it Caṇṭar, Durga and Sarasvatī holding a book in her hand, in the northern portion Naṭarājā and Intucēkara Mūrtti, northeast Kṣētrapālar and the nine planets (Navakkirakaṅkaḷ) and the Cura Tēvar (the "good" gods, Cura from Skt. Asura, which was taken to be a negative of Sura).

In the second Āvaraṇam Ēkākṣarī, Maṉōṉmaṇi and Lakuḷīcar on Maṉōṉmaṇi's left side and in the southern portion Ṛṣis and devotees (Bhaktas). Agh, 75.

[1] Thus Devasigamani Paṭṭar. A note in Agh says: 9 "above and 9" below.

[2] Stevenson, The Rites, 13, uses this word for Saṃskāra. The Saṃskāras are 12 according to Manusmṛti 2,26, but increased sometimes to 16 and sometimes to 18. See further below 180.

[3] "The five spheres of action of the five forms of Śiva, viz. emancipating the soul, leading it to the liberated state, giving it knowledge, calming down turbulent elements and destroying them (Nivirttikalai, Piratiṭṭākalai, Vittiyākalai, Cāntikalai and Cāntiyatītakalai), TL.

"quadruped") and worships Brahmā and the other gods at the different ends, and on another line the goddesses Rautrī, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī saying appropriate Mantras. He then worships Vākīcuvarī and Vākīcuvar (the goddess and god of speech (Vāk) represented by two Kūrcas[1] lying in the middle.

He now fetches fire from the kitchen[2], worships it with the Mūla Mantra and produces fire from the Mūlātāram (the first Cakra according to the Yogic system[3]) joins it through Rēcakam with the fire of pure Māyā (Skt. Baindava) and considers that fire identical with the fire element, i.e. the fire from the kitchen.

It is now considered to be "Śiva-fire" and after some fire has been thrown to the south west as the portion of Rākṣasas, it is invoked to be present and considered to be the form of intelligence (Caitaṉyarūpamāka).

The pair Vākīcuvarī and Vākīcuvarar (Sarasvatī and Brahmā) are now meditated upon and considered to be of young age. Then the Ācāriyar takes fire in his hands, falls on his knees and raises the fire to the tip of his nose and then enters it into the Kuṇṭam through the Yōṉi. After the usual purification ceremonies a drop of water is put on the fire and with good fuel the flame is raised, the 'womb-fire' is worshipped and the fire is consecrated with the Astira Mantra in order to protect the 'embryo'. A Kaṅkaṇam[4] of Darbha grass is offered to the hand of the goddess, who is considered to be the mother of the fire, Akkiṉi Mātā. The fire is worshipped for the sake of impregnation (Garbhādhāna) and three Ākutis[5] are made with oilseed. Thus the first of the Saṃskāras is performed and the child is conceived through symbolic actions.

In three months' time the Male-production ceremony (Puṃsavana) is performed, when again three Ākutis are offered with a Mantra and a drop of holy water is thrown on the fire.

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[1] See 108, note 2.

[2] Devasigamani Paṭṭar remarks that fire can be taken from the sun through the sun stone (Cūriya Kāntam, a kind of chrystal), by attrition through pieces of pipal wood (Araṇi), from the house of a Śrōtriya Brāhman (a B. versed in Vedic learning), from the Ācāriyar's house or from the temple kitchen. The first is best, the second is medium and the remaining are inferior.

[3] Lindquist, Die methoden des Yoga, 190.

[4] "String tied to the wrists of the bride and bridegroom", TL. Cp. Kāppu, below 252.

[5] Skt. Ā-huti "oblation offered in the consecrated fire", TL.

In order to perform the Hair parting ceremony (Sīmanta) in the sixth month he offers oilseed as Ākuti three times with the Cikā Mantra and consecrates three times with the same Mantra so as to make the faces and limbs accomplished.

In the tenth month he worships with the Tatpuruṣa Mantra and offers Ākuti three times with oilseed for the sake of the birth and considers the Firegod child to have been born.

The defilements of birth (Malam) are removed. The flame is raised and the Kaṅkaṇam on the hand of the Goddess taken away with the Mūla Mantra and a golden Kaṅkaṇam is considered to be tied to the left wrist of the goddess for the protection of the child and worshipped with the Heart-Mantra. In order to remove the ceremonial uncleanness the pit (Kuṇṭam) is sprinkled with Arghya-water and tapped (Tāṭaṇam) with Darbha grass while the Astira Mantra and finally the Kavaca Mantra is being pronounced.

In order to protect the Baby-fire he spreads seven Darbha grass in the lower ridge (Mēkalai) and bundles of grass (Viṣṭarakūrccam) in the four directions in the middle ridge and arranges Pariti (Skt. Paridhi[1], Bundles of Darbha grass laid round the sacrificial fire, TL.) on the top ridge. In order to purify the water coming from the mouth of the fire he takes five pieces of fuel (Camittu, Skt. Samidh) and dips both ends in ghee and saying the Agni Mantra performs Homa with the word Svāhā[2] and saves two of these Ākāracamittukaḷ[3] by planting them upside down having worshipped Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Aṉantar (The endless one, here=Śiva). He now worships the gods of the ten quarters (including Brahmā and Viṣṇu on either side of the Īcāṉam), offers Arghya and thus "removes the obstacles". He says: "Protect the Fire baby!", sprinkles water (Pariṣēcaṉam) and meditates on the Young fire (Pālākṉi). He is envisaged as having six eyes, three faces, seven tongues holding in his hand a spoon (Śruva) full of ghee, a fan, a club etc.

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[1] "Umlegehölzer", Caland, Śrauta sūtra, I:5:8.

[2] Svāhā=the Vedic word pronounced when an oblation is made.

[3] Āghāra Samidha, "two pipal twigs dipped in ghee and placed one at the north-east and the other at the south-east corner of the Gṛhya sacred fire", TL. The word Āghāra refers to a ceremony of sprinkling clarified butter upon the fire (Apte). Cp. Caland, op. cit. II, 12,7 and Renou, Vocabulaire Vedique, s.v.

After he has worshipped the Young fire he consecrates the ladles, assigns the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra to their bottom, middle and top, meditates upon them and worships them.

Next he places the ghee pot on its appropriate place on some live coal, fills it with ghee and purifies it by lighting two straws of Darbha grass in the fire and dipping them half down in the ghee.

In order to perform the three ceremonies of establishing the fire, putting on the vessel and dismissal, the Stāpaṉa Hōmam, the Aticrayaṇa (Skt. Adhiśrayaṇa=putting on the kettle boiling) Hōmam and the Uttuvācaṉa Hōmam, he thinks of himself as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively. He makes a ring of Darbha grass (Pavitra) with a knot in the middle, places it in the ghee and skims off impurities (Utplavaṉam) three times, and then pronouncing the Heart Mantra he performs the Samplavaṉam three times. (In the Tamil text this term is explainad as "grinding". The Sanskrit implies something floating or flowing together or a submersion). The knot of the Pavitra ring is then untied and put in the fire.

For the sake of Pavitrīkaraṇam (making Pavitra=symbolically throwing a protective ring round the pots) he then holds out and moves in a circle a blade of Darbha grass aflame to the pots containing ghee-offering (Havis).

He then again places a Pavitra of Darbha grass with a knot in the middle of the ghee, creates (in his imagination, Kaṟpi) the three tubular vessels of breath and imagines with the help of the Mūla Mantra Agni to be in front of him and performs Homa to his (Agni's) three eyes and to his face with due Mantras. He begins from the right side, if it is in the bright half of the month and from the left, if it is in the dark half of the month.

The ghee is then consecrated (Apimantiri) with the Saṃhitā and Tikkupantaṉam, Avakuṇṭaṉam and Amirutīkaraṇam performed.

By performing Āhuti to the face of Agni and to the five faces of Śiva with appropriate Mantras the "joining of faces" (Mukacamyōkam) is accomplished.

Then follows the "mouth making" ceremony (Vaktraikīkaraṇam) consisting in reading Mantras in the face (of Agni) and offering Āhuti in different directions.

Nāmakaraṇam follows. Three Āhutis are offered, the Heart Mantra said, the maternal and paternal ancestors of Agni praised, Vākīcuvarī and Vākīcuvar (his parents) worshipped, honoured

(Arucci) with flowers and dismissed (Utvācaṉam). Āhutis are then offered to the five quarter of the Agni to create tongues. First the tongues are created. With more Āhutis they are joined together two by two and finally all in one.

For the sake of performing the Saṃskāras from food offering (Aṉṉa pirācaṉam, but here Caru-(boild rice) Prācaṉam) to Vivākam (marriage) Āhutis are offered three by three with the six Limb-Mantras. A face is created in the Kuṇṭam and ghee poured into the fire from the ladle in a stream as high as a young paddy plant.

The Ācāriyar then takes his seat and encircles the fire with water, worships the Śiva fire with the Saṃhitā Mantra and performs Homa of sixteen inches long fuel sticks of Palāsa wood[1] with the vowels (Uyireḻuttukkaḷ). (The sixteen inches represent the Sanskrit vowels, incl. Visarga and Anusvāra).

Again worshipping with the Ācaṉa Mantra, invoking to be present and showing Mudrās as before he offers seven Āhutis each time with the Mantras for Śiva's five faces for the sake of the Saṃskāras: Food-giving (Aṉṉa pirācaṉam), Tonsure (Caulam), Initiation (Upanayaṉam), Return from the house of the preceptor (Camāvartaṉam) and Marriage (Vivākam). He then meditates on the aged Agni (Viruttākṉi).

When he has meditated, he performs Āvaraṇa Pūcai and offers Āhuti of the "threefold division of the Reals" (TL for Tatvatrayam), viz. Āttuma-Tattuvam, Vittiyā-Tattuvam and Civa-Tattuvam)[2], encircles the fire with water, performs Hōmam sixteen times and offers three Āhutis with the Astira Mantra as an expiatory ceremony (Pirāyaccittam). He performs the Viyāhiruti Mantras (denoting the seven upper worlds, Skt. Vyāhṛti) and Sampāda Hōma (i.e. Homa of completion) and worships the gods in the circle of Darbha grass, takes up the Darbha grass and the two twigs and throws them into the fire. He worships Indra and other gods with internal and external sacrifices and gives the gods a send-off (Utvācaṉam). He sprinkles water around the fire and Arghya-water on the litter and offers the Darbha grass to Agni. He takes away the ghee pot and the ladle, pronounces the Mūla Mantra, offers Āhuti, performs Upastāṉam[3] shows Mudrās to Agni, offers incense light and Arghya. He takes

[1] Butea frondosa.

[2] Cp. above 73, note 1.

[3] See above 86, note 3.

sacred ashes from the pan and goes with all sorts of music, accompanied by his retinue to the presence of Īcuvarar, salutes him with Mantraflowers (Mantirapuṣpāñcali), applies sacred ashes to the crown of Īcuvarar, worships him with the five Brahma Mantras and the six Limb Mantras, offers incense, light and Arghya, applies sacred ashes to all the other gods and then to his own forehead along with the other Brāhmans.

There follows a shorter ritual for

50. Nittiya hōmam. This is allowed to those who having first performed the full ritual find it impossible to do it daily. For Nāmakaraṇam and other important acts the full ritual is obligatory.

Now follows ritual for daily festivals and processions. Śiva, who as the Mūla Linga or Mūla Mūrtti is the centre of the temple and of existence[1], never moves from his place. For the nights he leaves the Linga and proceeds in another shape[2] to the sleeping chamber. He is then really absent and no worship takes place in the Garbha Gṛha. For the daily festivals and processions, which take place inside the temple he is represented by Śrīpalinātar or Śrī Palināyakar[3] as he is more often called. This is in a way an independent deity in the sense that he can perform certain functions, while Śiva is still present and can be the object of worship in the Mūla Stalam (=Garbha Gṛha). Following the division of festivals into daily, fortnightly and monthly there are three different representations of the Mūlamūrtti namely Palināyakar[4] (He has a female partner called Palināyaki), who is also called Nittiyōtsavar. [He of the daily festivals (from Nittiyam and Utsavam)] in accordance with his function. The next representative will be the Paṭcōtsavar (from Skt. Pakṣa meaning "lunar fortnight") and Utsavam. His name is also Cantira-Cēkarar and he is accompanied by Kālāvati. The first name refers to Śiva having the crescent moon on his head. Kālāvati is the female counterpart of the moon as having digits.[5] For the

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[1] Cp. Kramrisch, The Hindu temple, 361.

[2] Śiva is at Mathurai called "The Handsome Man" (Cokkaṉ, Prakrit Sokkha Skt. Svaccha, TL) also Cōmacuntarar (Skt. Somasundara).

[3] "Lord of Sacrifice".

[4] Also known in Vaiṣṇava temples. See Radha Krishna, 169, where he is called "Śrī Nityotsavar or Bali Bera". Bera means form and idol. See Gopinatha Rao Iconography, I, 1:17, and below 151.

[5] Cp. Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 343.

monthly festivals the functional name is Mācōtsavar (Mācam = month — Utcavam). His name in Mathurai is Cōmaskantar and he has Mīṉākṣi herself with him. During bigger festivals the temple is closed in the absence of the gods, which means that Śiva is considered to take actual part himself.[1] — We can now deal with the 51. Nittiyōtsavam. The Ācāriyar goes with his retinue to Śrīpalinātar, says the Astira Mantra, sprinkles ordinary Arghya, worships (Arucci) the seat with the Ācaṉa Mantra and the image with the Gāyatrī and performs the Matirukā- and the Kalā Niyācaṅkaḷ and then meditates on the god and the goddess. The god has four hands, three eyes, a crown of matted hair etc. He invokes them to be present (Āvāhaṉam), shows the Mudrā of establiment (Stāpaṉam) and the other Mudrās, performs Apiṣēkam, dresses and decorates them and places the gods on a palanquin. He then worships (Pūci) the god and the goddess and offers Naivēttiyam, incense and light. He pays homage (Arucci) to the lords of the eight directions and walks in procession with the umbrella and other insignia and with all musical instruments along with his attendants round the first corridor (Āvaraṇam). The Ācāriyar must hold the Arghya vessel, and the Paricārakar[2] shall bring the (Havistāli), Havisthālī the earthen vessel containing the offerings. The Ācāriyar rings the bell and amidst auspicious sounds he pours water on the stone under the door to the south, to the north and in the middle and spread-

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[1] For information on these names I am indebted to one of the Paṭṭars of the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai.

[2] The staff of a Śaivite temple consists in the first place of three groups, viz. the Cāstri, the Paṭṭaṉ and the Paricārakaṉ. The Cāstri knows the Veda Slokas and does the chanting for the daily Rudra Jepam and the Puṇṇiyākam. The Rudra Jepam is read daily in the Mīṉākṣi temple to consecrate the water brought from the river before it is used as Arghya. — The Paṭṭars, who are about 40 in number, while the Cāstris are only a few, perform the Arccaṉai and Pūcai. — The Paricārakar are also many. They fetch water from the river, cook and carry things around during the services. They are all Brāhmans but belong to different groups and do not intermarry. In addition there are singers, who sing the hymns of the Tamil Śaivite saints, Ñāṉacampantar (= Gnanasambandar) and Māṇikka Vācakar, and musicians.
Vaiṣṇava temples have Paṭṭars and Paricārakar. In the temple at Alakarkovil the Paṭṭars are divided into four groups with different functions. Full details of their office duties are given in a list from 1803 reprinted at Mathurai 1937 (Maturai Śrī Kaḷḷaḻakar Tēvastāṉattaic Cērnta Tirumāliruñcōlaimalai Caṉṉati Vakaiaṟā Kaiṅkaryaparāḷin Toḻil Cutantira Aṭṭavaṇai).

ing flowers, performs "Protection" (Camrakṣaṇam) and "Covering" (Avakuṇṭaṉam), and shows the Fire-Mudrā. He then sacrifices (Pali Camarppi) in the three places mentioned above and then to Ṭiṇṭi and Muṇṭi[1], and then he goes in and offers Pali to Vṛṣabha (Śiva's bull) standing in front of him and then to the crowd of goblins standing at his back. The sacrifices continue in all directions beginning with southeast to goblins, gods and goddesses. The Sūkṣmāgama is quoted for the quantities and forms of the sacrifices. The size of a peacock egg is the best, the size of a lime fruit is medium and the size of a grain of paddy is a poor (Atamam) offering. To the gods it should be round in form, to lords of hosts (Kaṇapati etc.) it should be elongated in form and to the goblins it should have the shape of a man. To the Śaktis it should be like a ball etc. He must offer the sacrifical elements (Pali) with his five fingers. That means he must not use spoons or ladles.

He proceeds to the second Āvaraṇam and performs sacrifice to the southern side and to the northern side and then in front of the second bull (Vṛṣabha) and behind him to Indra. Performing the sacrifice he must offer incense, light, reciting of Vedas and Āgamas, singing of hymns with cymbals and drums, dancing and music. When he has offered these things in all directions ending with the northeast he makes a sacrifice to Kṣētrapālaṉ.

For the third Āvaraṇam he goes round again in the second corridor and after having offered sacrifice to Viṣṇu in south-west and to Brahmā in the north-east he places the god (Palinātar) east of the Pūtapīṭam facing north. (The Pūta Pīṭam is the sacrificial altar in the presence[2] of the main god). He cleanses the altar with Arghya and worships (Pūci) the gods of the eight quarters over the Kumutam (Kumutattiṟkumēl, may also mean "waterlily" and refers to a curvilinear detail of the altar).[3] He then worships (Aruçci) gods, Ṛsis, Apsaras, etc. residing in the directions between the 8 quarters above the ornamental structure on top of the Paṭṭikai. He then worships (Pūci) flocks of Piśācas, Yakṣas etc. in the four main direction and in the north-east outside the altar. After that he worships (Pūci) the eight Śaktis in the eight

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[1] See above 110.

[2] Caṉṉiti, Skt. Sannidhi, lit. vicinity, presence, in S. India often used of the corridor or street leading up to the Mūlastalam.

[3] Kramrisch, op. cit. 260.

petals, and then he worships (Arucci) six lords of the goblins (Pūtanāyakar[1]), in the pericarp, in the middle, in the four quarters and in the north-east saying a formula ending with the word Svāhā to each. He then performs the sacrifice, offering food in the middle as much as the size of a coconut. Incense and light are also offered, and then the altar is cleaned and a flower placed on it. The Pali-nāyakar is then brought back to his place with all honours.

52. The next chapter contains particulars of those deities and celestial beings who are entitled to the sacrifice, which was described just now. There are eight groups, one group for each of the eight different kinds of Lingas in existence.[2]

The modes of worship now described and summed up by Akora-civacariyar as Mantiraniyācam, Hōmam, Parivāra Pūcai and Pali must be repeated three times, at the morning Sandhyā, at noon and at sunset. They have no place at the intermediary or smaller Sandhyā (Upacanti). There are, however, still a few items of morning Sandhyā-worship, which should be performed regularly or in certain circumstances.

53. Pātukārātaṉai, Rules for the service of Pātukai, Skt. Pādukā=wooden sandals.[3] Here a god is conceived and described in the meditation as having the colour of a pomegranate flower, upright hair, three eyes and in his hands a noose, an elephant goad, a trident and a water lily, dressed in white clothes and wearing a garland of white Erukku.[4] He goes to the temple of Pātukēcuvar and places him on the Stāli, an earthen vessel[5], worships him with

[1] Āmōtar, Piramōtar, Piramukar, Turmukar, Avikṉar, Vikṉahantri.

[2] Cp. Gopinatha Rao, op. cit. II, 1:75. Mrs. Stevenson, op. cit. 374 is not giving full information, but see Meinhard, op. cit. 11. for the first group. Cp. Kamaleswar Bhattacharya. The Aṣṭa-mūrti concept of Śiva in India, Indo-China and Indonesia.

[3] The word refers to the sandals of Rāma, which Bhārata installed as symbol of the ruling power of Rāma during his exile. — The footsteps of Viṣṇu are often an object of worship, modelled on a platform and sometimes forming a shrine of its own as Aḻakaraṭi at Mathurai. In the Vīrarākavar temple at Tiruvallur, Chingleput District, I have seen a Paṭṭar conferring blessing to a devotee by placing on his head a helmet with the footsteps of Viṣṇu engraved. This is in line with the common metaphor "attain the feet of the Lord".

[4] Calotropis gigantea albiflora.

[5] TL ad locum. Cp. Raghu Vira, Implements, 288.

the Mantras for the god of the seat (Ācaṇamūrtti). After he has meditated upon the image of the god he invokes him to be present. He dresses him, decorates him, performs Pūcai with the Astira Mantra, "Protection" (Camrakṣaṇam) and "Covering" (Avakuṇṭaṇam), shows Mudrās, offers Naivēttiyam, light and incense and places the Stāli on the head of a Paricārakar (the temple assistant) and takes him with all honours to the presence of Īcuvarar. The Ācāriyar says the Mantra-Sloka and offers Cuḷukōtakam (water with flowers).[1] The meaning of the Mantra-Sloka is this: "Thou art the one who protects all the essential Mantras of the secret and the most secret (*Kuhyam atikuhyam mutaliya mantiratattuvaṅkaḷaṉaittaiyum kāppavar*). Therefore Thou must graciously accept my prayer. Whichever prayer is with Thee, with that prayer Thou must through Thy grace make all our pleasures and deliverances succeed (*Pōkamōkṣaṅkaḷ cittika*). Therefore be gracious to Thy servant and accept my prayer. O, Caṅkaraṉ, protect my deeds of merits which are at the feet of Śiva and destroy my deeds of sin. He, who gives result (Palaṉ), is Śiva. He, who experiences the result, is Śiva. All the worlds are Śiva. The one who worships is Śiva. In as much as Śiva is everything, I am Śiva". Saying this he offers Cuḷukōtakam to the "boon granting hand" (Varatahasta[2]) and offers himself and the deeds of prayer to Śiva's right hand.

Then he continues: "O, Lord, who protects all the worlds. Graciously be present (Cāṉṉittiyam, Skt. Sānnidhya[3]) in this Linga till the worship is over". With the Mūla-Mantra he asks forbearance and worships with eight flowers. In the morning he makes a flower-Linga, at noon he makes a Linga of food, and at sunset he makes a Linga of unbroken rice mixed with turmeric. The Linga is placed on the Stāli and worshipped and meditated upon as having four arms, three eyes, a crown of matted hair, wearing a deer and a

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[1] The Kāraṇāgama is quoted for the following explanation of the term: "Taking water and flowers in his right hand with the four fingers folded he brings it as an offering to the feet". Devasigamani Paṭṭar says that the water must be let down along the index finger and then the flower alone offered to the god. "The purpose is to remove any flaw or drawback that has occured during the Pūcai". — "By this Arghya we request God to set right and to forgive all deficiencies". The last sentence is typical. It gives a motive for the rite without explaining it.

[2] See Gopinatha Rao, op. cit. I; 1:14.

[3] Manifestation or presence as of a deity, TL.

hatchet with the hands in the Apaya (protecting) and Varata (granting boons) position. He invokes the god to be present in the usual way and makes the usual offerings, and then he places the vessel covered with a piece of cloth on the head of a man belonging to the Cutta Caivam[1] and goes in procession with all honours to the Vṛṣabha, where the flowers are deposited on his shoulders to be joined with water at the noon worship.

In order to obtain the benevolence of Īcuvarar he then arranges pure (Cutta) dancing and performs circumambulation, salutations etc. and offers as before flowers to the Īcuvarar residing in the Linga, sprinkles water, draws the curtain and goes to the temple of Caṇṭēcar. Here he places the remains of the offerings made to Īcuvarar in the presence of Caṇṭēcar and performs Apiṣēkam to his image with pure water. He worships (Arucci) the seat and the Mūrtti. Then follows meditation on the Caṇṭēcar. He has two eyes, a crown of matted hair, an axe in his right hand and rests the left one on his thigh (Ūruhasta). The right leg is hanging down and the left is folded under him.

He is then invoked to be present, the "Establishing" Mudrā is shown, he is anointed, dressed and decorated, worshipped with flower and praise, and then the limbs are worshipped (Pūci), viz. the heart, the head, the tuft of hair and the coat of mail. What is left of Śiva's offerings such as food, sweet drinks, betel and areca is then offered as Naivēttiyam and all entertainments performed. When he offers the Nirmālyam, he states that it is being done at the command of Śiva. With Caṇṭēcar's Mūla Mantra Arghya is offered, and then the offerings are removed, the god is praised with the eightfold hymn due to him, and then a prayer directed to him follows: "O Caṇṭēcuvar, Thou art meditating on the lotus feet of Śiva. Praise be to Thee! Thou must graciously give the result of Śiva's worship". While praying he claps his hands three times.

Now follows rules for

54. Āṟumukar Pūcai (worship of the Six-faced god). These are applicable, however, only in case he has as separate temple[2] as in

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[1] One of the 16 Caiva sects, for which see TL sub "Caivam".

[2] In a recent work: The Hindu concept of God, an essay included in "The Religion of the Hindus", edited by Kenneth W. Morgan, Jitendra Nath Banerjea says "Gaṇeśa has a cult of his own known as Gāṇapatya, with a small following in modern times, while Kārtikeya (Subramanyan as brought

Tirunelvēli. The "Six-face-god" is Subramanyan. Skanda is also commonly used as his name. He is identified with the old Tamil god Murukaṉ.[1] Sometimes the Mūla Mūrtti (the fixed idol) is called Murukaṉ and the Utsava Mūrtti (the "form" of festivals) called Subramanyan as at Kinnattukkadavu in the Coimbatore district. He is the god of the hills and his shrine is very often on the top of a hill or at the foot of a mountain. Palni and Tiruparankunram are famous examples but not exceptional cases. Recently (in 1936) a temple was erected at Prospect Point, a hill top at Kodaikanal to Kuṟiñci Āṇṭavaṉ, the Lord of the Kuṟiñci region.[1] He is here represented as Taṇṭāyutavaṉ, the one who has the club as weapon, mostly with the additional name of Paḻaṉiyāṇṭi, the Lord of Paḻaṉi or Palni, his most famous temple in South India.

The ritual follows the same pattern as before. The six faces are worshipped (Arucci) in the clock-wise direction with the following Mantras:

Ōm Hrām Cam Caravaṇapavāya[2] *Namaḥ*
Ōm Hrīm Ram Ravaṇapavacāya Namaḥ
Ōm Hrūm Vam Vaṇapavacarāya Namaḥ
Ōm Hraim Ṇam Ṇapavacaravāya Namaḥ
Ōm Hraum Pam Pavacaravaṇāya Namaḥ
Ōm Hraḥ Vam Vacaravaṇapāya Namaḥ.

Pījākkaraṅkaḷ (seed syllables) are used in worship with six names of Subramanyan, viz. Cēṉāpati, Curēcar, Haracūṉu, Curākrajar, Cupramaṇyar and Kumārar. — His wives, Kajavallī on his left side and Vanavallī on his right side, are also worshipped. The ritual comprises three Āvaraṇa Pūcai. A Homa sacrifice is performed in a hexagonal[3] Kuṇṭam in the same manner as to Śiva.[4] The three

up by the Pleiades, Krittika) has none" (op. cit. 71). As far as the question of sect is concerned this may be correct, but it gives a wrong impression of Subramanyan's place in S. India to-day. He has several big temples, whereas Gaṇeśa, except in a few cases (Uccipiḷḷaiyār at Tiriccirappalli) is confined to small shrines.

[1] For the old division of country, customs and cults into five "regions" (Tiṇai) see Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram, Akattiṇaiyial V, vol. 11. Murukaṉ was the god of one such region the Kuṟiñci. See further below 251, note 1.

[2] Skt. Śaravaṇa-bhava, "born in the lake of Śaravaṇa", a name of Skanda. This formula occurs in the Māntirīkam handbooks also. See below 288 ff.

[3] This figure occurs frequently in the Māntirīkam handbooks.

[4] It is noteworthy that the ashes which are taken from the fire at the end

Lingas of flower, food and grain are made and used as in the worship of Śiva. The daily festivals are celebrated and the remnants of the sacrifices offered to Caṇṭanātar in the north-east direction.

Now is the time to worship the goddess and rules follow for her worship repeating the long ritual of preparation, Pūcai to the doorkeepers etc. etc.

55. Kauri Pūcai. The Śakti of Catāciva is called Maṉōṉmaṇi, the Śakti of Makēcuvarar is called Kauri (Skt. Gaurī) and the Śakti of Rudra is called Pavāṉi (Skt. Bhavānī). Śakti is also divided into Yōkacakti, Pōkacakti and Vīracakti (Śakti of Yoga, enjoyment and bravery). The altar (Pīṭam) is Yōkacakti, The Śakti in the Arttamaṇṭapam (Hall immediately in front of the innermost shrine in a temple, TL) is Pōkacakti and the Śakti outside the temple is Vīracakti. They must be worshipped each in her own place.

56. Rules for worship comprise personal preparation of the Ācāriyar, the assigning to himself of Kauri in twentyfive parts (Kaurikalāniyācam), preparation of the ingredients, worship of the deities of the entrance, worship of Yōkiṉi, Pōkiṉi and Viruṣapacakti (attendants to the left and to the right and in front of the goddess), and in the Garbha Gṛha worship of the Śaktis of the Garbha Āvaraṇa[1], worship of the Mūlatēvi, the Śakti of the central shrine, first the seat and then the goddess after invoking her to be present, first Āvaraṇa Pūcai, second Āvaraṇa Pūcai, third Āvaraṇa Pūcai (This consists in worshipping gods in the eight quarters beginning with Vṛsabha in the east and ending with the Sun in the north-east by means of the seed syllables (Pījākkaraṅkaḷ) Ōm and Ham, which have been made into a case (Camputam[2]) with the Pijākkaram Śrīm.), fourth Āvaraṇa Pūcai, fifth Āvaraṇa Pūcai, Naivēttiyam, Hōmam, Nittiyōtsavam, for which comes

57. Tēvi Nittiyōtsavam=rules for the daily festival (procession) of the goddess, sacrifice, for which comes chapter

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and given to Subramanyan as it was done to Śiva, is here called Rakṣai, a word which implies protection and is also used for an amulet. Gods and their attendants need amulets. The young elephant of the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai had an amulet to protect him when he was eating (from the evil eye). (Informant: stable assistant Mīṉākṣi temple 1951).

[1] Seven goddesses, one for each quarter except the south, namely: Vākīcuvarī, Kriyai, Kīrtti, Ilakṣmi, Sarasvatī, Mālinī and Cumālinī.

[2] Skt. Sam-puṭa, round metal casket used as receptacle for a substitute Linga (Piratiliṅkam).

58. Rules for sacrifice (Pali). Sacrifice is performed to the Caktis of the sacrificial altar, and then Naivēttiyam is offered to the Tēvi with all the accompanying ceremonies. Then follow return of the Utsava Tēvi (Palināyaki), dance, removal of the remnants and the offering of it to Caṇṭēcuvar, salutation of Īcuvari etc. finally and a prayer for forgiveness in case something of the ritual should have been, knowingly or unknowingly, omitted. — The details of the ritual are the same as for Śiva.

Next follows worship of a tawny-coloured cow,

59. Kapila Pūcai. The cow, which must be fault-less, is worshipped in the usual way, decorated with appropriate jewels from head to feet to the accompaniment of the six Limb Mantras and with all paraphernalia and honours, with the chanting of Vedas and Āgamas, with songs, music and dance. It is brought to the presence of Īcuvarar. The Arccakar[1] standing on its right side and facing north performs the ceremony of Pirāṇāyāmam (control of breath) and Cakalīkaraṇam (the eleven Nyāsas) and says the Astira Mantra and worships with ordinary Arghya water the Śaktis of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra represented by the face, the back portion and the stomach of the cow respectively. He then worships with the five Brahma Mantras and the six Limb Mantras and then performs Arccaṉai to the four Vedas, represented by the four feet. In the meditation that follows the cow is described as the form of a Mātṛkā-Śakti (meaning the mother of all). At the tips of the horns are the gods. In the face is the moon. In the back portion are Ganges and Sarasvatī and in the feet is the god of Dharma.[2] In its shoulder and stomach are Agni and the Sun. At the end of the tail are all the holy waters (Tīrttaṅkaḷ) and at the root of the hairs are all the Muṉis (Ascetics).

Then follows Āvāhaṉam with appropriate Mudrās offering of incense, light and Arghya. The priest pays homage to the cow by applying sandal-paste and garlanding it. Saying the Mantra: *Ōm Hām kṣūm kapilāyai namaḥ* he offers food, fruits and drink and with due honours makes it go back to its place again.[3]

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[1] Skt. Arcaka=worshipper. Here=a priest who performs Arccaṉai. He must be an Āticaivaṉ and is equal to an Ācāriyar.

[2] The deity of justice and righteousness described as placing four feet on the earth in the golden age, three in the silver age, two in the brazen age and one in the iron age, TL.

[3] In Vaiṣṇava temples a cow is brought in the morning and placed so that

This brings the morning worship to a close. The priests go to the hall of audience and perform Homa by means of the Mūla Mantra 108 times in order to remove all dangerous defects (Tōṣam) such as not having performed the ceremonies in the proper time. They give daily alms (Nittiyatāṉam) according to means and return to their respective homes.

Pūcai (The ritual) is repeated six times in a day. Choosing between differences among the Āgamic authorities Akoraciva-cariyar arranges them in the following order: Kālacanti, Upa-canti, Uccikālapucai, Piratōṣakālapūcai, Cāyaṅkālapūcai and Art-tayāmapūcai. The full ritual should be followed three times in a day, morning (Kālacanti), noon (Uccikālam) and sunset (Cāyaṅkālam). Upacanti is an intermediary ritual, which sometimes is omitted and sometimes takes place after the noon ritual. Piratōṣakālam is a dangerous time after sunset, which is observed on certain days only. The midnight worship, which actually takes place at 8 or 9 p.m., has its own ritual. There follows then:

5.

60. Upacanti Pūcai. The ritual is repeated between 9 and 12, i.e. in the second Yāma watch in the same way as before leaving out certain parts as the Homa sacrifice and worship of the retinue.

6.

61. Uccikāla Pūcai. Now the full ritual is gone through, Hōmam, daily festival (Nittiyōtsavam) and everything, but the Linga should now be made of food[1] and the attendant deities (Parivāratēvar) are not worshipped.

62. Rules for eating are inserted here, Pōjaṉaviti. The Ācāriyar goes to his own place. He washes, says the Astira Mantra, sprinkles himself with water, performs the sipping and applies sacred ashes, performs Cakalīkaraṇam and attends to the sacred fire[2] and finishes

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it turns its back to the deity and milked. This is called Viśva Rūpa Darśana. (Information supplied by a Paṭṭar of the Kūṭalaḻakar temple at Mathurai. It takes place at 7 A.M. in the temple at Tirumochur, Mathurai District).

[1] See above 133.

[2] Aupācaṉam, Skt. Aupāsana, "The worship of the consecrated fire both morning and evening, a duty enjoined on a married Brāhman", TL. Cp. Aupāsana 2, L. Renou, Vocabulaire Vedique.

the "worship for his own sake" (Ātmārtta Pūcai). He then prepares the Homa fire and offers part of the food as Homa. The rest of the food he divides into three parts and after consecrating them with Mantras he offers one part to the fire. The second part he divides into two and uses one half for offerings to the Lords of the eight quarters, beginning with Indra (east) and ending with Īcāṉaṉ (north-east). He also makes an outside sacrifice (Pakirpali). With the other half he makes a sacrifice to gods and ancestors (Pitirukkaḷ) in the following way: To the right of the Kuṇṭam he makes a square and performs five offerings (Tarppaṇam) in it, and then he performs sacrifices to the gods, the Ṛṣis, the demons and the Pitirs beginning in the direction between east and north-east turning to the west, north and south. He then gives the send-off (Utvācaṉam) to Agni and all the others. With the rest of the food he makes an offering to the crows (Vāyacam, Skt. Vāyasa) etc. Then he takes food together with Brāhmans who are fit for partaking in the feast. He cleans his hands and his face, performs the breathing exercises, applies sacred ashes, makes Cakalīkaraṇam and listens to narratives about Śiva (Civakatā Ciravaṇam).

The reason why the rules for taking a meal find a place here in the midst of temple rituals can be found in the obligation on the Ācāriyar to fast till the noon worship is over. Mrs. Stevenson calls it a "fasting communion[1]", which is not an appropriate expression to explain the customs in South India, since the god has not been fasting. The idea behind the term Ucchiṣṭa (remnant) gives a more likely explanation. The Ācāriyar has by the Niyācam ceremony made himself into Śiva, and if he were to take food before it has been offered to the Mūlamurtti, it would be turned into "remnants" and unfit for Naivēttiyam.[2]

7.

Akoracivacariyar is hesitant about the time for

63. Piratōṣakālam. Thereby is generally meant an inauspicious time of 7½ Nāḷikai (24 minutes), 3¾ before and 3¾ after sunset. Uttarakāraṇam places its main ritual at a time between 3—6 P.M., and therefore he gives now the ritual for that time called

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[1] Stevenson, The rites 391.

[2] Stevenson, op. cit. 392.

64. Naṭarājaṉ Pūcai. The worship of the dancing Śiva (Naṭarājaṉ) shows little variation from the ritual already described. A substitute Linga, carried in a case (Camputạm) is taken up in front of the image of Naṭarājaṉ and worshipped with full ritual. It is shown to Naṭarājaṉ before it is replaced in the box. The two Ṛsis standing on either side of him, Patañjali and Vyāghrapāda, are worshipped and so is the Asura Apasmāraṉ lying under his foot. In order to appease his rage certain delicacies are offered as Naivēttiyam.

8.

65. Cāyaṅkāla Pūcai repeats the full ritual with the only remark that

66. Cōmāskantar[1] Pūcai is taken out as a separate item to be performed either before or after the Cāyaṅkāla Pūcai. The ritual proceeds in the usual course but a few items are noteworthy. When the images have been duly worshipped and the gods invoked to be present, the substitute Linga is made the object of Apiṣēkam and shown to the gods and then taken back to its place just as when Naṭarājaṉ was worshipped. The Linga is the object of worship par excellence. Part of the ritual is the 'Flourlamp' ceremony (Māviḷakku), which also takes place at the Māriyammaṉ temples[2] and in smaller shrines. The Ācāriyar leaves the shrine of Cōmāskantar and goes to the dancing hall or the kitchen and makes a Maṇṭalam, a square of one cubit, and decorates it with five-coloured powder and worships the seat (the elevated place thus created for sacrificial purpose). He places five vessels with a solution of saffron and lime (Nīrājaṉam) on it and makes a round lamp of flour in the middle. It should be two inches broad and half inch high. He says the Astira Mantra, sprinkles water and fills it with ghee and puts on a wick of pure white cloth with some camphor in it. He worships (Arucci) it with the Mūla Mantra and puts cotton seeds and other seeds with the seed syllables (Pījākkaraṅkaḷ) for earth and four more, says the Astira Mantra, sprinkles water, performs "the Covering" (Avakuṇṭaṉam) with the Armour Mantra and Paramīka-

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[1] "Sa-Umā-Skanda,a Śiva with Pārvatī and Skanda", TL.

[2] At the big Māriyammaṉ temple at Dindigul persons who have suffered from eye disease are lying on their back and a relative makes two lamps of flour over their eyes and lights them for a moment (Februari 1953).

raṇam[1] with the Mantra: "*Caktayē vauṣaṭ*" and consecrates with the five Tattuva Mantras[2], offers incense and light and hands over the pot in the hands of Tēvatācikaḷ (templegirls) and goes in procession to the presence of Īcuvarar where he tarries for a while. The pot is then taken to the front hall and placed on a tripod.

The worship has for its purpose the success af all auspicious acts with the removal of the evil effect of the eye and all Tōṣam for this lord, who is the god of gods. The Ācāriyar makes a solemn declaration (Caṅkaṟpam) of his intention to perform Cāyarakṣai[3] for this purpose. The worship that follows has only one remarkable feature, namely worship of the sacred syllable Ōm in the aureole (Pirabai, Skt. Pra-bhā), a halo or an ornamental arch of flames over the head of an idol, Tiruvācci. In the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai such arches are raised over the entrance to the inner shrines and the sacred syllable is written in the 'head' or in the place of the head, which serves as terrifying object.[4] — Light is offered in five pots (Stāli), and again the god is protected from the effects of the evil eye. Flowers, cottonseeds and margosa leaves with sacred ashes are taken round the idols three times with the Kavaca Mantra, and then the fire pot is encircled three times with the sacred ashes, which are then poured into the fire. When he has finally washed and wiped his hands he takes again the sacred ashes with the Mūla Mantra and gives protection (Rakṣai) to the idols in five places (the head, the face, the heart, the private parts and the feet) saying the five Brahma Mantras at the same time. Then water for sipping, washing hands and feet is offered with a fixed number of snapping of the fingers. — The ceremony is closed with all honours, dancing and music, the dancing girls carrying the five Stālis.

The Nirmālyam from the worship of Cōmāskantar is used in

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[1] See above 118, note 2.

[2] Civatattuvam, Caktitattuvam, Cātākyatattuvam (Śiva assuming forms), Makēcuvaratattuvam and Cuttavittiyātattuvam, Agh. 124.

[3] Skt. Sāyam+Rakṣā. The word has in daily use the meaning 'evening' and 'evening worship'. Here we find, however, an indication of its original meaning, viz. protection against the approaching darkness and ceremonies performed for such purpose. Cp. Irakṣai, which means 'protection', 'amulet', 'sacred ashes' (TL). — The Ācāriyar is not simply performing the evening worship but worshipping in the evening for the sake of protecting the deities.

[4] Cp. Jouveau-Dubreuil, 1914, Planche XII.

67. Paktarpūcai (Skt. Bhakta P.), i.e. worship of Cuntara-Mūrtti-Nāyaṉār and his two wives Paravainācciyār and Caṅkilinācciyār. Cuntarar (8:th century) is one of the four great Śaivite singers. His hymns are recorded in the collection Tēvāram and his life is told in the Periyapurāṇam heading the list of biographies of the 63 Śaivite saints. His fame and his name, which is the same as the name of the god (Cuntarēcaṉ or Cōmacuntaraṉ) warrants his position as an object of worship at Mathurai, and it seems as if Agh. has been influenced by the conditions prevailing there. The whole ritual is repeated for Cuntarar and his wives.

9.

68. Arttayāma pūcai follows. At this time there is no Dvāra Pūcai (worship at the doors). It begins with a preparation for the god's entrance into the sleeping chamber, Cayaṉālayam. The details of worship are repeated for the god and the goddess. Aromatics must be added at the anointing of the Linga. A pair of sandals (Pātukai) or the "Lord of the palanquin[1]" will be placed on a swing (Ūñcal).[2] The idol is dressed and decorated. By Nanti's command all gods are told to remain in their places and the god is carried sitting in the swing to the sleeping chamber. He is there taken down and placed in the bedstead at the right side of the goddess. The god and the goddess are now worshipped and with the eleven Mantras the five Mudrās of fixing, presence, circumscribing their presence to a particular spot, covering, and of the cow (Dhenu)[3] are shown. With meditation the goddess is invoked to be present and both are offered Naivēttiyam. The Ācāriyar then leaves the room while two Rudradāsis (temple girls) sing the bedchamber song. The door is locked with the Astira Mantra and the divine pair made happy with the sound of the conch and the trumpet. Finally the Caṇṭēcuvar is worshipped.

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[1] The Mūla Mūrtti never moves. In its place a pair of sandals or a separate image are used for these ceremonies. The forms thus created for different parts of the ritual tend to become independent deities with their special functions. Here the god is given the general name of Lord of the palanquin; at Mathurai he is called Cokkar.

[2] Sitting in a swing is part of the wedding ceremonies.

[3] Stāpaṉam, Caṉṉitāṉam, Caṉṉirōtaṉam, Avakuṇṭaṉam and Tēṉu. Cp. above 118.

10.

69. Kṣētrapālar Pūcai is the last item inside the temple. The Lord of the field or region (Kṣētra) is Bhairava[1], also known as Vaṭukatēvar.[2] The Ācāriyar proceeds to his shrine and carries out the usual preparations including the assigning of hands and limbs (Niyācam) and of the Mātirukā syllables[3] and of the specific powers (Kalai). Vīrakaṇapati stands at the entrance and is first worshipped. The usual ritual is then followed. Bhairava is dressed in two pieces of red cloths, a garland of skulls (Muṇṭamālai) for the sacred thread, a garland of tinkling bells, footrings etc. In the first Āvaraṇa Pūcai the Five Brahma Mantras and the six Limb-Mantras are worshipped. In the second Āvaraṇa Pūcai eight forms of Bhairava are worshipped with the appropriate Mantras due to the various forms. Bhairava is here meditated upon as remover of obstacles and giver of success or miraculous power (Citti) to the devotees. In the third Āvaraṇa Pūcai eight Śaktis are worshipped in the same way. In the fourth Āvaraṇam ten demons (Vētāḷam, Skt. Vetāla) are worshipped and in the fifth the ten Regents of the world (Lōkapālar). The ritual is continued but without Homa. The remnants are offered to the Kṣētra Caṇṭēcuvar residing in the north-west.

There remains one final ceremony to be gone through.

70. Worship outside the temple. The Ācāriyar goes outside the temple and sits in the Īcuvarar Caṉṉiti (i.e. the street leading up towards the shrine of Śiva) and here he makes a square altar one cubit high and one cubit broad with equal lines. In front of it he builds according to rules a sacrificial altar. He smears the square altar with cowdung and cleans it by sweeping. With many-coloured powder he draws a lotus flower and outside the flower a triangle and outside the triangle a square and then a circle and outside the circle a lotus with eight petals. Outside the figure there should be four entrances of double lines. — After Cakaḷīkaraṇam the Ācāriyar sprinkles water and worships the ten demons (Vētāḷam) and the eight Bhairavas with their Śaktis and at the top of the triangle the

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[1] Bhairava is known (sometimes as Bairon) in different parts of India in Banaras as well as in the south.

[2] Skt. Vaṭuka, a boy, a Brahmacāri.

[3] See above 102.

three Vaṭukatēvar, viz. Viriñci (Brahma) Vaṭuka Tēvar with Vāk Tēvi, Mukunta (Viṣṇu) Vaṭuka Tēvar with Śrī, Rudra Vaṭuka Tēvar with Gaurī. Then he invokes the Kṣētrapālar to be present in the middle, shows the 'fixing' and other Mudrās and meditates upon him. Then he worships the 16 vowels in the eight petals and the consonants in the middle, offers incense, light and Arghya and makes a sacrifice of Pāyācam (a dish of milk and sago).

From the Analākamam are quoted rules for the worship of Āpattutāraṇar[1] for obtaining his benevolence and for the protection of the village. This worship will give success and power, long life, wealth, fame, victory, sons and grandsons. It will destroy all diseases and remove all difficult obstacles. He is invoked to be present in the middle of the pericarp. Sacrifice is performed to him with Mantras and dancing, song and music are arranged and the gods, present in the altar, are given a send-off. Afterwards the Ācāriyar goes into the temple again and proceeds to the presence of Kṣētrapālar brings the customary offerings and performs salutation with flowers three times. He then locks the sleeping chamber and hands over the key in the hands of the Kṣētrapālar with the Mūla Mantra and places it on his southern side. With his face turned away he offers Arghya and then salutes him and locks all the doors to the temple and distributes food (which has been used in the service). He then leaves the temple and goes home and takes his meal together with the Brāhmans who have been witnesses (Cākṣipūtar) after he has cleansed his seat and performed Cakaḷīkaraṇam. Then he takes rest.

The day is over. Gods and men have gone to sleep.

There is, however, an appendix containing the ritual for the Makā Piratōṣakālam. A time of 3¾ Nāḷikai after sunset[2] is Piratōṣakālam, Skt. Pradoṣa=bad, corrupt. The night after the 13:th Titi of the dark fortnight and especially in the month of Māci (February-March) is Makāpiratōṣakālam.[3] But as we have seen there is not full agreement about this. It is the time when Śiva destroyed Yama in order to protect his devotees. At that time one must worship Śiva. If one does not worship Śiva during the Piratōṣakālam, bathing,

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[1] Skt. Ā-pad+Ud+Dhāraṇa=one who saves from distress, TL.

[2] Cp. above 139.

[3] Also called Mahā Śivarātri, See Jagadisa Ayyar, 42 and Underhill, The Hindu religious year, 93.

almsgiving, prayer, Homa and other sacred deeds do not give any result (Palaṉ). All holy waters (Tīrttam) are in the "seed" (Bīja) of Viruṣapam (Vṛṣabha) — here the word Bīja has the meaning of testicle, see TL ad locum — therefore one must touch it and look at Śiva through Vṛṣabha's horns, that means standing behind looking right into Śiva's shrine. "If he now tells the god: 'I am tormented by debts, diseases, hunger through poverty, mental worries, untimely death, sin, sickness of mind, wrath, lust and fear', he will not experience that fruit of sin (Pāvapalaṉ). He should write[1] his trouble on a wet palmyra leaf, tell it to the god and then burn the leaf and throw it on a river bank. If he does it three times, he will not experience that fruit of sin". The performance will remove all sins, create all merits (Puṇṇiyam) and take away all evils (Tōṣam).

The ritual begins with Apiṣēkam and Naivēttiyam to Vṛṣabha. In the front of the sacrificial altar a small mound of the best kind of paddy is piled up and decorated. Nine vessels are thereafter placed on the mound, duly purified and decorated with thread and dressed. A bundle of Darbha grass, a "gem" of mango leaves (leaves neatly arranged as a fringe) and a coconut, should be placed in the vessels which he worships applying sandal. All other ingredients needed for Apiṣēkam are prepared. He then goes to the Garbha Gṛha and makes the usual preparatory arrangements with Niyācam and Āvāhaṉam and performs Apiṣēkam to the lord. The ingredients for the Apiṣēkam are kneaded and smeared (Pūcu) on the sacred body of Īcuvarar. Then he performs Apiṣēkam with ointment and

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1 Information in writing to a god is not uncommon. On the 13:th Dec. 1940 I picked up the following note which was nailed to the back wall in a shrine to Muṉīcuvarar, behind the Post Office at Trichinopoly:

"Unfailingly the truthful Muṉīcuvaraṉ and Maturaivīraṉ (fierce deities of South India, cp. Radha Krishna op. cit. 214 f. and Whitehead, Village gods, 33) both together shall make the thing I have in mind come out successful. They shall make Solomon, who is working in the Railway Cooperative Stores, and the Second Store Manager, Parcati (Bhartacarati?) Ayyangar quarrel like a snake and a mongoose. I beg that Solomon be stopped from work and that he leaves the job within three days. The Muṉīcuvaraṉ shall enter the mind of the Ayyangar and move him (so that) an order for that same work shall come by mail to Baijinat Sing. Within this week I shall be employed. When I have been employed and received my first salary I shall sacrifice a goat and a coconut. This is the truth, the unfailing truth".

ghee, with perfumed water and pure water. He completes the ceremony with the usual offerings. He then takes the vessel; walks round the food offering (Piracātam) and joins the Īcuvarar of the vessel with the middle portion of the Linga. Pronouncing the Pījākṣaram of Varttaṉi[1] he performs Apiṣēkam with the sacred water of Varttaṉi in the middle of the altar. Apiṣēkam to Paramēcuvar must be performed with water from the Kumpam itself (the vessel from the mound). Then follows the recital of certain specified hymns, the drying, dressing and decoration of the god. Naivēttiyaṅkaḷ are offered. Sacrifice is performed to the attending deities and Homa and Nittiyōtsavam in the usual way. Then he offers amulet (Rakṣai), umbrella (Cattiram Skt. Chattra) and chowry (Cāmaram) and respectfully communicates the four Vedas, Purāṇas and hymns and sings the praise of the god and worships him with all kinds of music and dancing.

Worship (Pūcai) performed in this way will give all sorts of wealth and health. If it is forgotten and neglected, evil (Toṣam) will befall king and country. He who worships Rudra during Piratōṣakālam will attain Rudra's heaven (Ruttiralōkam). The Ācāriyar[2] should be honoured with the gift of a dress and a ring and the Paṭṭar and the Paricārakar should have their dues. Piratōṣakāla Pūcai removes all sins.

In the Uttarakāraṇāgama it is added that the goddess should be worshipped and then Nittiyōtsavam arranged and the god mounted on Vṛṣabha and taken round the temple.

Akoracivacariyar's account of the temple ritual is thus brought to an end.

There are differences in detail of worship between Śaiva temples and Vaiṣṇava temples, but the art of worship is essentially one and the same. Viṣṇu is also offered sacred water for washing of hands and feet and for sipping (Arkkiyam, Pāttiyam and Āca-

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[1] "A vessel of water, in which Umā is invoked and worshipped" TL. See above 107, note 2.

[2] Temple worship is neither dependent on the munificence of an individual nor on his initiative. The ritual belongs to the eternal order and is supported by temple funds. But here is an indication that this special kind of worship can be performed on behalf of an individual as is very often the case at festivals.

maṉīyam), vessels containing holy water are worshipped, and they are "blown, burnt and rinsed" (Śoṣaṇatāhanaplāvana), Mudrās are shown and consecration with Mantras performed. This is clear from the items for temple worship given briefly in the Tiruvāratanakramam[1]:

1. Removing the Kāppu. This means that the temple door (Here called Kāppu=protection) is opened and the god awakened from sleep.
2. Sacred water is poured into five bowls and sacred basil added. The bowls are consecrated with Mantras and the water offered for washing hands and feet, for sipping and bathing. The bowls are afterwards cleansed through the ceremony called Śoṣaṇatāhanaplāvana, which consists in drying with the wind, burning with fire and cleaning with water symbolically by touching the bowls with one's hand and reading a Mantra.
3. Offering service (Ārātaṉam) to one's own preceptor (Cuvācāriyaṉ).
4. Offering service to the twelve Āḻvārs or the Vaiṣṇava saints whose hymns are preserved in the collection called Nālāyirapirapantam (four thousand poetic compositions).
5. Offering service to Perumāḷ (Viṣṇu) and the goddess.
6. Reciting the sacred Pirapantam (the collection of hymns just mentioned).
7. Offering of food to the deities.
8. Offering of Pānsupāri (betel and areca).
9. "Recital of some special stanzas at the close of Pirapantam recitation in times of worship at temples", TL for Cāttumuṟai as this item is called.
10. Closing the door. Offering Tulasī flowers and singing hymns the officiant requests the god to enter the sleeping chamber and then casts himself prostrate before the god.
11. Accepting as one's own (Cuvīkarittal). The worshipper accepts and eats what is left of the offerings made to the gods.
12. As the last item follows exposition of Aṣṭātaca-rahasyam, "a collection of eighteen treatises on the Vaiṣṇava Siddhānta by Pillailōkācāriyar" (TL).
13. As an additional item comes the repetition of food offering to the deities at night.

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[1] Nittiyāṉuṣṭāṉaviti, 2 ff.

Most of the details have been left out from the items quoted from this brief account of the ritual. A few observations may be made. The gods are cared for in the same way as in Śaiva temples. More attention is paid to the spiritual preceptor, the Guru. The use of Tamil hymns from the Nālāyirapirapantam as part of the ritual is a striking feature.

When supplemented with the details about Tikkupantaṉam, the use of the Astira Mantra, Prāṇāyāmam, Mudrās, Bījas etc. supplied by Rangachari[1] the picture is almost a replica of the view obtained from the Śaiva temples. The "utilitarian" aspect of Vaiṣṇava ritual is clearly borne out by Rangachari[2] as well as by the references quoted by J. Gonda. For example the different Avatāras are instrumental in conferring different boons on the worshipper.[3]

b. THE DAY IN THE TEMPLE

2. Temple Worship in Practice

Having given an account of the temple ritual as embodied in one of the manuals we shall now supply some information on the ritual in practice. A few examples will furnish material for a typological study and allow us to apply the test of instrument and purpose. A comprehensive study is not intended. Through the care of the Devastanam, i.e. the administrative organisation of the temples, boards have been put up in all major temples announcing the Nittiya Pūcai and the Arccaṉai. The former corresponds to the Uttarapākam of Akoracivacariyar's manual, i.e. worship maintained by the temple. The list of Arccaṉai refers to private worship arranged on request and on payment of fees. We shall revert to it in the chapter: Unforeseen crises.

Rites are performed in the Mīṉākṣi temple, Mathurai, according to the rules laid down in the Kāmikāgama and Kāraṇāgama.[4] References are also made by the temple Paṭṭars to Akoracivacariyar and to the Śivārcanā Candrikā[5] by Appaya Dīkṣitar. The official

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[1] Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 134 ff.

[2] "By this Vāyubīja all the Doṣas in his body are believed to be destroyed". (Op. cit. 136 et passim).

[3] Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, 243.

[4] Informants: Śrī Sundaresa Paṭṭar and Śrī Venkata Subramanya Aiyar.

[5] Quite naturally as the former at least builds on the Kāranāgama.

list of Pūcai for Cōmacuntaraṉ, as Śiva is called here, runs as follows:

1. Tiruvaṉantal 6.30—7.30.

The time must refer to the closure of the morning worship, because the temple is already opened between 4 and 5. We have seen a number of preparations going on before the actual Cayaṉālaya Pūcai (above 106), which corresponds to Aṉantal. This word is not Sanskrit. It is translated 'sleep', 'drowsiness' in the TL. The Cittiviṉāyakar is worshipped, and then follow the ceremonies belonging to Cayaṉālaya Pūcai. Śiva is removed from the sleeping chamber to his own Garbha Gṛha. The effigy carried is not, of course, the Mūla Mūrtti, the Linga, which is never moved, nor is it the Śrīpalinātar[1] but the special figure set apart for that purpose called Cokkaṉ.

2. The Viḷā Pūcai comes next and covers items 14—22 in Akoracivacariyar's manual. It includes the purificatory ceremony (Puṇyākam), which requires reading of Vedic hymns and the service of Cāstrikaḷ. This should coincide with sunrise as Uṣakālapūcai (Agh. No. 21). The word Viḷā is again noteworthy as not of a Sanskrit type. Its meaning is uncertain.[2] The time given, 8—8.30 does not fit in with the rules in Agh. — Two pots (Kumpam) of water are fetched from the river by the Paricārakar and consecrated with the Rudra Japa.[3]

3. Kāla Canti 9—9.30. This has its direct counterpart in Agh.

4. Śrīpalināyakar and surrounding deities, service of light (Tīpārātaṉai) 10—11. This is contained in the chapter Nityōtsava Viti, No. 51, in Agh. Pali Nāyakar, and Pali Nāyaki for the goddess, are lords of the sacrifice (Pali) represented by small brass idols.[4] They are carried around the corridors when sacrifices are made to the divine retinue (Parivāraṅkaḷ), especially to the gods of the cardinal points. Finally the sacrificial altar of Indra is worshipped. This

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[1] See above 129.

[2] The suggestion in the TL: "... probably Uṣas+Pūcai." is not convincing. One might suggest a corrupted form of Veḷi or Veḷu, which both mean 'dawn'. One could also think of Viḷā (festival). It is good Tamil as it stands meaning worship at the turn in ploughing, but if so, its significance is unknown.

[3] Ts. 4.5.1.1[a], Rudra Sūktam ApG. 7.20.8.

[4] Cp. 151, fig. 2.

altar is placed in front of the shrine of the goddess. There is no such altar near the shrine of Cōmacuntarar, because Śiva and Indra are not friends. During the annual Kāmāṉpaṇṭikai[1], which is being celebrated in Mathurai in Feb-March, Indra, riding on a white elephant, leads his army of Kaḷḷar[2] in an attack on Śiva.[3]

5. Tirukālacanti 11—12. This corresponds to the Upacanti Pūcai, No. 60 in Agh.

6. Uccikālam as No. 61 in Agh. It takes place at noon.

7. The morning closes with Śrī Palināyakar Tīpārātaṉai, Ālavaṭṭam, i.e. this god is again carried round and Āratti, waving of light, is performed and the god is honoured with a circular fan (Ālavaṭṭam).

Between 12.30 and 16.00 the temple is closed.

8. Cāyarakṣai 19—19.30. This is the same as No. 65 in Agh. In this temple the full ritual is followed only at festival time. The sacred pot (the Kumpam), for example, is only then placed on rice and decorated with threads and covered with a coconut. During Cāyaṅkāla Pūcai the Rudra Japa is chanted by the Cāstrikaḷ for the 3:rd time in the day. My informant told me it was done *Ulaka-*

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[1] Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Feste, I, 133.

[2] About the Kaḷḷar as a Caste of bold men with a fighting spirit see Thurston, Castes and Tribes in South India, III, 53.

[3] There are in Mathurai at least four white elephants made of light material 6—8 feet high, used at the Kāmāṉpaṇṭikai, in South Masi Street, West Masi street (Taṇṭāyuta-Sāmi temple) etc. A man dressed as Indra rides on the elephant. Another one represents Maṉmataṉ (the god of love) riding on a swan and a third Rati, his wife, riding on a parrot. They walk in procession to a place where Śiva is performing Tapas, and the story is enacted, when Śiva burns Maṉmataṉ to ashes with his third eye. See Jagadisa Ayyar, Festivities, 63. I witnessed the scene in February—March 1953.

Indra was the first to benefit from Mathurai's holiness, when he had slain (Vṛtra). The guilt of killing followed him like a shadow till he worshipped Śiva in this holy place, (Tiruviḷaiyāṭaṟpurāṇam, chapter 1, 23), but he is engaged in a losing battle with the king of Mathurai, Ukkirapāṇṭiyaṉ, the son of Śiva and Mīṉākṣi, who as Cōmacuntaraṉ and Taṭātakai ruled the country (Tiru Ālavāy, 74—77). His elephant is also cursed, because Indra threw a garland, which the sage Turvācaṉ so kindly offered him congratulating him on his victory over the Asuras, on the head of his elephant, which finally crushed it under its feet (Tiru Ālavāy, 32). A study of the relationship between Indra and Śiva is desirable. We can not pursue the matter further after having noticed a connection between Indra and the goddess and an estrangement between Indra and Śiva. Cp. Tiru Ālavāy, 72.



Fig. 2. The "Lords of sacrifice" (Palināyakar and Palināyaki) Cōmanāta temple, Manamathurai.

kṣēmārttam (for the welfare of the world). Its prominent role in the temple service is as consecrating the water brought from the river by the Paricārakar before it is being used for Apiṣēkam. This is required morning, noon and evening.

9. Śrī Palināyakar and surrounding deities, Tīparātaṉai. The same as No. 4 above. It takes place between 20 and 20.30.

10. Arttayāmam takes place between 21.30 and 22. This refers to the Pūcai before Śiva is taken to the sleeping chamber. See Agh. 68. In the Mīṉākṣi temple the following ingredients are used for the Apiṣēkam: oil, the five ambrosias (Pañcāmirtam), milk, curd, honey, saffron, coconut milk and sandal powder.[1] At this time a vessel of water called Varuṇa Kumpam is brought. This water is not consecrated by the Cāstrikaḷ with the Rudra Japa but only by the Paṭṭar with the Varuṇa Japa.

11. Within 10.30 the Palanquin must start. Cp. Agh. 68.

12. On Fridays the Arttayāmam is timed at 22.30—24 and the

[1] Information supplied by one of the Paṭṭar. On the 15/4 1953 I saw a tray being carried round, on which was milk, curd, honey and saffron.

13. Palanquin starts at 23.30.
14. On Piratōṣa days[1] the god comes round between 18—19.

The notice board gives announcements to the public and is not for the Paṭṭar, and we can not learn the details from it.

From the Rāmanātacuvāmi temple at Ramesvaram, another famous Śiva temple (in spite of its name! The legend tells how Rāma worshipped Śiva on this place) six times worship is reported[2]: 1. Tiruvaṉantal, 2. Utaya Pūcai (corresponds to Uṣakālapūcai and Viḷā Pūcai), 3. Kālacanti, 4. Uccikālapūcai, 5. Cāyarakṣai, 6. Arttayāmam. — A famous temple to Kaṭōrakirīcuvarar (Śiva) at Piranmalai, 30 miles east of Mathurai has the same services adding Tirukālacanti at 9 A.M. — Tiruvātavūr, the birthplace of Māṇikka Vācakar, has a big temple to Tirumaṟainātar (Śiva), where the Mathurai ritual is closely followed, although the daily worship consists of five items only. — In the Rāja Kaṟkaparamēcuvaraṉ temple at Koyilur, one mile west of Karaikudi, Ramnad Dist. they also have five times Pūcai, Tiruvaṉantal, Kālacanti, Uccikālam, Cāyarakṣai and Arttayāmam.

For Viṣṇu temples we have an account of the daily worship in the book on Tirupati by V. N. Srinivasa Rao[3]. The doors are opened in the morning after music, the so called Durbar-music, Kolumēlam, The god who is resting on a cot is awakened and offered milk. Holy water and food offered to the deity (Prasāda) will be distributed. — The next item is called "Śuddhi" or purification. Since the information is for the public and nobody is allowed to be present, we are not told how the ceremonies are performed.[4] — Thirdly comes "Thomala Seva", a service of garlanding and Apiṣēkam. — As number four comes the Durbar, when the god[5] is seated in the Artta Maṇṭapam and receives light refreshments, and a gift of rice is handed over to the Arccakar (priests). The astrological calculations

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[1] See above 144.

[2] This is the usual order also prescribed in Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai, 131.

[3] Tirupati 1 ff.

[4] From an old report of 1803 preserved in the Mackenzie Collections (for further reference see Tirupati, 28, and above 64, note 2) we learn that the lamps are trimmed and the old garlands removed.

[5] As in Śaiva temples different images are used for different purposes. Here are not less than five Mūrttis for different occasions, "and no difference exists between them". Tirupati, 36.

for the day are read. — Soon, after the Durbar there is Arccaṉai consisting in reciting the thousand and eight names of the god while flowers are thrown over him. — As the sixth item comes Naivēttiyam (offering of food etc.) to the god and to the subsidiary deities. — There follows again "Śuddhi" and Arccaṉai, this time only 108 names are read. — After a second offering of Naivēttiyam the morning worship is over at about 2 o-clock in the afternoon. — The same thing is repeated after nightfall.

Although Tirupati lies in the Telugu country, it is a common shrine for Tamilians and Telugus, and Tamil hymns are recited on some occasions. From the Kālamēkaperumāḷ (Viṣṇu) temple at Tirumocur, six miles east of Mathurai we have a list which reminds us of more details in the Śaivite service:

1. Durbar music at 6 A.M. (Kolumēlam. 2. The sacred bath at 6.30. 3. Viśvarūpa, the showing of the cow[1] takes place at 7, when milk is offered. 4. At 8.30 is Poṅkal Kālam, i.e. time for offering cooked rice. 5. At 10 o-clock the surrounding deities are worshipped. The reciting of the Vedas and Cahasra Nāma Pūcai (reading of 1008 names) also takes place now. 6. At noon comes Uccikālam as in the Śaiva temples. There is a break till 5 P.M. when the Durbar music is again performed as item No. 7. At 17.30 comes Cāyarakṣai with Naivēttiyam of rice pancakes and music and entertainment. That was item No. 8. As number 9. comes procession round the temple and the last item is characterized as Cāmparkālam or the time when cooked rice mixed with pepper powder and other spices is offered to the deity and then distributed to the temple servants.[2]

The daily temple worship is not a private devotion of the priests. It is Parārtta Pūcai — for the sake of others, but no congregation is present. Sometimes temple visitors will reverently salute the deity,

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[1] See above 137 note 3.

[2] Six times Pūcai, which in this connection means oblation, is the rule for bigger temples. The number decreases in proportion to the lack of funds, but morning and evening worship consisting chiefly of Tīpārātaṉai (Ārati) is generally kept up in temples to gods associated with Śiva or Viṣṇu. In temples and shrines to Grāmadevatā (village gods) and Kuladevatā (family gods) and other minor deities worship takes place Tuesdays and Fridays. It is still called Nittiya Pūcai. For Grāmadevatā see Whitehead, 16 and Konow, Hinduismen in Illustreret Religionshistorie, 602. The latter also for Kuladevatā.

when the bell is rung or music is heard and definitely when the god passes through the corridors on his mount (Vākaṉam). At Mathurai a large crowd will gather in the early morning to have the first glance through the opened doors, and at the Vēṅkaṭēśvara temple at Tirupati a few people, usually four or five only will be allowed to be present during the Pūcai on payment of a fairly heavy fee.[1]

But in many temples and on many occasions nobody is present except the officiating personnel. If temple visitors happen to be there at the time of Pūcai, they are not partaking in the worship in any way except doing homage. Their object is to have Taricaṉam (Skt Darśana[2]), sight of the deity. With this aim in view they go on pilgrimage, and when the gods come in procession through the streets they grant this sight to everybody, even to those who formerly were not allowed inside the temple. In some temples there are certain fixed times when Darśana is free. It is significant that the Tamil word Taricaṉam has acquired as its first and most prominent meaning 'auspicious sight'. The sight of an old barren woman first thing in the morning forebodes ill-luck. The sight of a god is an auspicious sight. The sight of a god can be chosen and thereby used as an instrument in securing luck, help and prosperity.

Temple worship is in a large measure a direct method of dealing with the gods. Permission is asked of the Kṣētrapālaṉ to approach the main gods as of a hall-porter. The gods are awakened by courteous request. Māṇikka Vācakar has composed a hymn for the occasion in which the reverential attitude of direct approch is clearly manifest.[3] The gods are treated as dignitaries with their servants standing to attention. They are given baths, towels for wiping their bodies (Tiruvoṟṟātai) and napkins for cleaning their mouths (Mukavācam). They are dressed and garlanded. Food is

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[1] Tirupati, 15.

[2] Skt. Darśana is a key-word to the religious experience of the Hindus. In the Mūrttiviyal (chapter on the form of the god) of Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai, 97—98, are laid down various rules for correct Darśana. One must stand on different sides of Śiva, depending on which direction he faces when one gets a vision (Tarici) of him. One must see him only 15 Nālikais after sunrise etc.

[3] Tiruvācakam with Subramanya Pillai's commentary, 338.

served six times. They are entertained with music and dance. They move to the sleeping chambers of their wives and are made to rest. — These acts are not instruments. As direct expressions of attention and service they can be channels for devout feelings, of which Māṇikka Vācakar's hymn is an example.

It is, however, important to remember that this service is reserved for a comparatively small community, the temple staff. They have to repeat the many details in a monotonous routine, which will shift the emphasis from the way in which the worship is performed, to the mere fact that it is being done. The general public has not the same access to the direct way of approach. They do not even play the part of onlookers except in certain circumstances.

The simple acts of personal attendance to the gods have been spun out into elaborate rituals so full of details as to make a quick and skilful routine the only way in which they can possibly be carried out. In the balance between a conception of personal attendance and an instrumental aspect the scales have definitely sunk in favour of the latter.

Further, there is the ulterior motive. The well-being of the particular Kṣētram, over which a god is ruling, depends on the temple worship and ultimately the maintenance of the world. A Paṭṭar in Mathurai told me: "The world is created in the temples". That is evident from details of the worship, which often imply references to the philosophical and theological systems with many examples of symbolism as for example the worship of Śiva in his fivefold function.[1]

The symbolism is carried into the details of worship everywhere. Food and water for washing hands and feet are symbolically offered. The gods can be represented by a bundle of Darbha grass, a sacred pot or a Mantra. The Mantra can substitute an act of the ritual. Very often the performer is instructed to imagine things, his hands to be wet or himself to be Śiva etc.

No act of worship can be performed without the instruments par excellence, Mantras, Bījas and Mudrās. The act of invocation (Āvāhaṉam) may imply a reverential call upon the god to come, but the Mantras and Mudrās are effective enough to make his appearance assured. The question of readiness on part of the gods to respond

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[1] Cp. Meinhard, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Śivaismus, 14 ff.

to the directives of the ritual does not arise. They are in one respect only parts of the instrumental machinery. Even though food, bath, music and dance are direct and not indirect means of dealing with the gods, their function and the ingredients are fixed so as to ensure their benevolence and the beneficial effect thereof.

The quintessence of the ritual is the priest's acting as god. With the Mūla Mantra he draws the gods into himself and joins them together as one. He transfers them to a flower and calls them into existence with the Udbhava Mudrā and assigns them to the Linga. In the final Āvāhaṉam ceremony six actions establish the divine presence. It is done with the instrumental elements prescibed (above 155). Only at the end the conception of a living god breaks through in the prayer: "Be present in this Linga till the end of the service".

The point may, however, lie in the god acting as priest, which makes the ritual performance a supreme act of the divinity. The rites lose their sense of worship when performed by the gods themselves, and they have a meaning only as instruments. The conceptions run in a circle. The deity is required for the performance of the sacrifice to the deity. A doubt as to whether one should say that the sacrifice is needed by the gods or the gods are necessary for the sacrifice shows the gods to be the paramount instruments.

The Āgamas testify to the instrumental character of the rites by the frequent use of the word for result or fruit, Palam, Skt. Phala. A mere glance at the two Āgamas will illustrate the point, and nothing more can be attempted here, because there is no complete descriptive account of the Kāmikam and Kāraṇam available, much less a thorough investigation of their subject-matter. But even so illuminating quotations and references can be had, because in the editions mentioned above[1] the chapters (Paṭala) are divided into subject-matters in the complete list of contents that precedes the text. There is no subdivision in the text, but the chapter headings are found in the text written in Grantha script. The list of contents is written in Tamil characters.

These are a few examples from the Kāraṇam: Chapter 30 has for its heading Nityārcanāvidhi. The first Sloka is recorded as Palam in the list of contents and says: "I shall tell the daily worship

[1] See above 47.

(Nityārcanā), meritorious, bringing luck (Śubhada) and destroying sin, annihilating the evil of great crimes (Mahāpātakadoṣaghna) and giving the fruit of all sacrifices". — The Mūrti Homavidhi, chapter 44, states its purpose in the following words: "For the sake of removing all evils (Doṣa) and giving all succes (Sarvasiddhipradāyaka"). The very last chapter of the Uttaram portion, on the dedication of Nāgas gives the following promise: "For the sake of having many sons and grandsons, removing all diseases".

The word Palam occurs in the list of contents of the Kāraṇāgama Pūrvam 150 times. In as much as there are 147 chapters, the word occurs at least once in each chapter. The distribution is, however, not even. It is lacking in some chapters and found two or three times in some. It is mostly given as a separate item in the beginning or at the end, but it is sometimes connected with another word Ācamaṉapalam (the result of sipping water), Liṅkapētapalam (the benefit of different Lingas) etc.

In the Kāmikam it appears less often than in the Kāraṇam, but that is understandable from the point of view of the subject-matter. Measuring the ground and building the temple give less occasion to observe and state the benefit of the act than do the various performances of Pūcai. — The word is also found in the Marīci Saṃhitā, which serves the Vaiṣṇavas in the same way as the Kāmikam the Śaivites. It belongs to the Vaikhānasa school and has been published at Tirupati. There is on page 3 a statement on Arcanāphala (the result of service), on page 4 a subheading: "*Tadārādhanasya Phalakathanam*" (statement of the result of this worship) etc.

Special purposes are also now and then indicated in the manual of Akoracivacariyar: "If Apiṣēkam is performed to Nanti, all things will become successful". "If daily Apiṣēkam is performed according to rules to the altar, the flagstaff, the tree etc., there will be prosperity to the village and to the king and health to all living beings". "All success will come, if Pūcai is performed when sun and moon are not"[1]. "Through the worship of Śiva all people on earth are protected"[2]. — The details of the ritual serve the purpose of cogs in a machinery. They have their fixed place because their particular effects are needed just then.

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[1] Agh. 39 and 61. Cp above 118.
[2] Above 133.

Theology will declare that the rites have been instituted by the gods themselves who have given this method in the hands of men so as to be at their disposal whenever needed. Why the gods should be pleased in this way is not man's concern. He has to take what the gods have declared unto him.

C. THE FESTIVAL CALENDAR

To the regular course of life belongs the fixed festival calendar for the week, the parts of the lunar month, i.e. the fullmoon day, the 8:th day and the newmoon day, the month, the different months and the "great festivals" (Mahōtsavam). Utsavam is the word used in the Āgamas for festival and it is interpreted as "creation produced" (Udbhūta Sṛṣṭiḥ).[1] In as much as the daily worship is a means for sustaining the universe, Utsavam per force belongs to it and must occur daily as could be seen from the ritual for the daily worship, Nitya Pūjā. Nitya means not only regular, fixed, but also eternal in the sense that it encompasses the whole existence.[2] The acts of creation and maintenance of the existence of the world must be assumed to originally have been occasions of a festival calendar. Their incorporation in the daily worship makes them more instrumental in character. They become cogs in a machinery and have lost their direct connection, for example, with the cycle of vegetation and the course of the sun.

The Mahāpiratōṣa Kālam although occurring only every 13:th day (Titi) of the dark fortnight is of particular importance and was taken up by Agh. along with the daily worship.[3]

The ceremonies which will now be briefly considered have not as a rule a place in the daily worship. They occur at regular intervals and can thus be treated as festivals, but the word Utsavam is not used except for the daily festival (Nityōtsavam) and the "Big festivals" (Mahōtsavam). The term is, however, rather loosely used by the editor of the Pūrva Kāraṇam to serve as a heading for a group of eight chapters on special worship, rather arbitrarily separated from the rest. It is not therefore out of place to keep the word

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[1] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 654.

[2] Among Tamil Christians the word Nittiya is used for "eternal" as in Nittiya Jīvaṉ, eternal life.

[3] See above 144.

Utsavam as a general term for all days requiring special mentioning with regard to rituals.

The Kāraṇam has as first item after the last part of the daily worship, the Kṣētrapālārccaṉai[1], rules for weekly worship (Vārapūjāvidhi).[2] The weekly worship means a special selection of offerings which are made in the common ritualistic setting on each day of the week or on particular days yielding life, fame, sons and health as result (Palam). — In actual practice, however, the days of the week have their special significance. Sundays, Tuesdays and Saturdays are important days in the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai, especially Saturday, when people in large numbers circle round the Navagrahas, the images of the nine planets.[3] Agh. does not mention these, because they are not worshipped in the order of daily worship (Nitya Pūjā) but only as Arccaṉai, that is at the choice of an individual temple visitor.[4]

On the day of Saturn, his Vākaṉam, the crow, should be fed before one takes one's food[5] with salutation (Puṣpāñjali) and Mantras. In the hall in front of Śiva's sanctuary rags dipped in oil are burnt in a basin in front of the Navagrahas[6], which regularly have their place here. Such a bundle can be bought from a vendor nearby. — In the Perumāḷ (Viṣṇu) temple at Tallakulam north of the river Vaikai, which runs through Mathurai, cooked rice was spread on the shrine of Garuḍa (the Vākaṉam of Viṣṇu) in front of the main shrine as an offering to the crows.[7]

Monday also has its significance. It is an auspicious day and women worship the Nāgas and walk round the Tree-marriage with the view of getting children. The Nāgas or "snake-gods" form a difficult problem.[8] In South India they are found everywhere, usually as stone images representing a coiled snake with raised hood or

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[1] See above 143.

[2] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 535.

[3] See below 201 and cp. Underhill, The Hindu religious year, 23 and Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 344 ff.

[4] See below 239. The Navagrahas are mentioned in the Pūrva Kāraṇam under Nakṣatra Pūjā (see next page), which among other things averts the evil influence of the planets (op. cit. 546).

[5] Cp. Crooke, Religion and Folklore, 42.

[6] Cp. Crooke, op. cit., 42.

[7] Witnessed by the author on the 10:th Feb. 1951.

[8] See Crooke, op. cit., 383 ff.

copulating snakes. An image of Kṛṣṇa or of the Liṅka-Yōṉi is engraved on the head of the snake. They are consecrated — the Uttara Kāraṇam has a ritual for the ceremony as an appendix — and placed on a platform raised round a pipal tree[1] and a margosa tree[1] which should grow preferably in an intertwining embrace and are according to some authorities united through a marriage ceremony.[2] The Nāgas may also be found under a Banyan tree.[1] It is an act performed for the removal of the Carppa Tōṣam, the curse of childless marriage, explained by an astrologer to be due to the killing of a snake in a former birth. We shall have occasion to return to this matter later on.[3] We are here concerned with the ceremonies taking place on Mondays. I have made a note of the 30:th August 1943 as a date when childless women walked around such a platform with Nāgas in a corner of the Cauntaravalli Ammaṉ temple, Armenian street, Madras. The day was Monday and the day of the newmoon. It takes place everywhere in South India on similar occasions.

The newmoon day is of particular importance as can be noticed e.g. from the crowds walking to Vīrarākavar's (Viṣṇu) temple at Tiruvallur, Chingleput district, or from the number of people keeping watch on the railway bridge at Mathurai to have the first glimpse of the new moon. — The Kāraṇam prescribes special worship. Already at midnight the "Protective binding", Rakṣābandhana[4], must take place and the sacrificial ground be prepared etc. Almost like a stereotype it is said to result in the destruction of all sins, in a meritorious and successful life, in the removal of all diseases etc., but apart from that, there is at the end a promise which may explain the large attendance at the temples on those days: "What ever mortal man does this, will obtain a state of merits" (Sapuṇyām Gatim).[5]

There is also special worship to the Nakṣatras (the lunar asterisms) on the 8:th and the 14:th on both the two fortnights. Its importance is manifest in the result of the worship which is largely averting: "Destroying all evil omens, driving away a foreign army, pacifying

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[1] Ficus religiosa, Azadirachta indica and Ficus bengalensis.

[2] Cp. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Feste, vol. III, 195.

[3] See below 254.

[4] Equal to Tikkupantaṉam. See above 72.

[5] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 544.

the five gross elements, destroying all enemies, giving all desired success, conquering (appeasing) untimely death and destroying (the malign influence of) the nine planets".[1] These rituals are also followed on the day of a king's anointment and on birthdays.

For the month also special worship is offered, which is highly beneficial. It allays all diseases, increases fame, bestows life, wealth, fame and victory.[2]

The Kāraṇam has rituals for a number of more days in different months fixed according to the course of the sun. They need not concern us here. The festivals proper, for which the word Utsavam is used has an important feature, the hoisting of the banner (Skt. Dhvajarohaṇa). In the chapter on great festivals (Mahotsava) there are five sections set apart for its ritualistic details, whereas it is very rarely mentioned in all the other chapters.[3] The festivals are divided into six kinds according to the length of their duration.[4] They are Paitṛka (of the manes, Pitirs) 12 days, Saukhya (relating to health) 9 days, Śrīkara (creating wealth) 7 days, Pārthiva (relating to the earth or its ruler, the king) 5 days, Sātvika (relating to the Satva-quality or "absolute goodness"[5]) 3 days, Śaiva (belonging to Śiva) 1 day. In separate chapters follow however, rituals for festivals lasting 18 days and 27 days. — Utsavam should be conceived as (bringing) abundance and victory, says Kāraṇam.[6]

The festival calendar in practice, faithfully reflected in the calendars and the customs of the local temples is more important for this investigation than the endless details of Āgamic rituals. But the variety is embarassing here also. Some descriptions of festivals are easily accessible, but the material is very rich and much field work has still to be done. We can only here attempt to make a few inroads into the festival life of South India.[7]

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[1] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 546.

[2] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 551.

[3] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 52—53. Cp. below 164, note 4.

[4] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 654.

[5] TL, s.v.

[6] Pūrva Kāraṇam, 655.

[7] Cp. Stevenson, op. cit. 263—342, Underhill, op. cit. 38—65, "solar and seasonal festivals", 66—74, "lunar and planetary festivals" and 75—98 "Viṣṇu and Śiva festivals", Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 426—433, Caland, Ziegenbalg, 1926, 140—143, Glasenapp, Der Hinduismus 351 ff., Natesa Sastri, Hindu feasts and ceremonies, 1 ff., Jagadisa Ayyar,

The account of the festival calendar given by Underhill holds good for South India as well, but there are many local festivals sometimes connected with the annual cycle, sometimes not. The Sthalapurāṇas[1], furnish an account or an explanation of the festivals. Nowadays many of them have been printed. The rituals of the festivals are, however, as a rule not to be found in the Purāṇas[2] except when the stories are enacted as is often the case at Mathurai e.g. at the Piṭṭu-festival, when Śiva carried mud for the fortification of the river bank against payment in cakes[3], the incident of the wood-vendor[4] and the impalement of the Jain monks.[5]

In the yearly calendars (Pañcāṅkam) festivals are fixed for every important temple.[6] Local temples sometimes have their own list of festivals printed, and it is always the custom to have a leaf printed for every major festival containing an announcement and an invitation to the festival. A booklet of ten pages printed by the Devastanam for the Piracaṉṉa Vēṅkaṭēca Perumāḷ temple at Krishna Kovil street, Mathurai in 1950 lists from 15 to 20 special celebrations in a month, i.e. all festivals and processions of the different deities belonging to the temple. The leaflet for the Cittirai festival of the Mīṉākṣi-Cuntarēcuvaraṉ temple at Mathurai from 9:th to 21:st April 1951 may serve as an example of the announcements for single festivals. For each day the time is fixed morning and evening when the gods come in procession and what vehicles (Vākaṉam) they ride on and at which places they stop. Special features are given in a separate column. The festivals lasts twelve days. As examples we quote the details for the 5:th and 6:th days.

S. I. Festivities, 1 ff. (which contains references to older literature) etc. Among descriptions of certain local festivals may be mentioned Lembezat, The Karaikal Ammayar, 78. This particular goddess is mentioned also by Jouveau-Dubreuil, 57. Cp. also Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai, 131. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Feste, Cp. also Filchner-Marāthe, Hindustan im Festgewand. — The rituals are found in Pūrva Kāraṇam chapters 104—143 and in Akorasivacariyar's Kriyākrama Jyoti, part VI, the Mahotsavavidhi.

[1] See above 63.

[2] An exception is the Monday-fasting (Cōmavāranōmpu), a special worship conducted by the king Ukkirama Pāṇṭiyaṉ, for which full details are given in the Ālavāy Māṉmiyam, 78—87.

[3] Ālavāy Māṉmiyan, 237.

[4] Ālavāy Māṉmiyam, 258.

[5] Ālavāy Māṉmiyam, 169.

[6] See Rāmanātapañcāṅkam 1953.

The 5:th day is the first day of the month Cittirai. The deities come out in the morning at 10,30 in a golden Capparam (canopied, carlike vehicle) They proceed to the North Maci street, where they will halt at the Rāmāyaṇaccāvaṭi (a choultry maintained by a group of people) for special celebrations (Maṇṭapappaṭi). The gods will halt for an hour or two and private individuals will meet the expenses for garlanding and (light-offering Tīpārātaṉai) and other honours. In the evening at 7 P.M. they will come in procession through the Maci street, this time riding on horses.

On the 6:th day they will again ride in the golden Capparam before 8 o-clock in the morning. There will be special ceremonies in the hall of the Cērvaikārar[1], and they will meet the expenses. At night the gods will ride on the bull at 8 P.M. Before that, at 7 P.M. will be enacted the story when Gnanasambandar drinks the milk from the breast of the goddess and comes out with the Śaivite saints (Nāyaṉmār) and impales the Jains.[2, 3]

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[1] Name of a caste. See Thurston, Vol. VI, 362.

[2] Ālavāy Māṉmiyam, 258.

[3] Some more examples of Vākaṉam may be taken from the Tiruvatavur temple to Tirumaṟainātaṉ (Civa) and from the temple to Vīrarākavar (Viṣṇu) at Tiruvallur, Chingleput Dist.

The Piramōtsavam at Tiruvatavur lasted from $^{27}/_{5}$ to $^{6}/_{6}$ 1952. The Vākaṉaṅkaḷ were: lion, canopy, palanquin and car in the morning, and in the evening bull, demon and lion, the Kailāca Vākaṉam or Kāmadhenu (the celestial cow), horse, lotus, the Kaṟpaka-tree, elephant and finally palanquin covered with flowers.

The Vīrarākavar rides

1:st day	in a canopy	in the morning
	and on a lion	in the evening
2:nd day	on a swan	in the morning
	and in the "splendour of the sun"	in the evening
3:rd day	on Garuḍa (kite, the Vākaṉam of Viṣṇu)	in the morning
	and on Hanuman	in the evening
4:th day	on the snake Seṣa	in the morning
	and in the "splendour of the moon"	in the evening
	(The splendour of the sun and moon means a throne surrounded by an arch to represent the sun and the moon respectively)	
5:th day	in the form of Mōkiṉi (the female form which Viṣṇu took on to allure the Asuras when the gods and the Asuras churned the milk ocean)	in the morning
	and on a Yāḷi (mythological lion-faced animal)	in the evening
6:th day	as Vēṇukōpālaṉ (Kṛṣṇa playing the flute)	in the morning
	and on an elephant	in the evening

The special features, in the notice coming simply under the heading "remarks", deserve attention. On the first day Vāstu Puruṣaṇ[1] is propitiated, and within a specified hour (Nāḻikai) in the Ilakkiṇam of Leo[2] the banner is hoisted. Temples in South India have a flagstaff, Tuvacattampam, Skt. Dhvaja-stambha, standing in front of the central shrine, the Garbha Gṛha. It is said to represent the pillar of fire into which Śiva converted himself when he wanted to show Brahmā and Viṣṇu his endless expansion.[3] It has a wooden vertical frame at the top to represent a flag (TL), but at festival time a banner is tied around the pillar and often also Kuca grass. — If it stands inside a hall, it must penetrate the roof to illustrate the idea of infinite height.[4]

On the fifth day there is a ceremony called Vēṭar Paṟi Līlai. It takes place in the temple and is a mimic performance of one of the "plays" (Līlai, Skt. Līlā) of Śiva, when he ordered his servants disguised as hunters or robbers (the word is ambiguous) to rob Cuntaramūrtti Nāyaṉār.[5] In the version of the Paṭṭar of the temple, two men of the shepherd cast (Kōṉār), who have free use of some

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7:th day	in the car	in the morning
	and stays in the temple garden	in the evening
8:th day	he has his bath	in the morning
	and rides on a horse	in the evening
9:th day	day in an ordinary palanquin without his jewels	in the morning
	and in the chariot of the victory banner	in the evening
10:th day	he takes rest	in the morning and
	rides in a canopy	in the evening.

The greatest day is always the day when he rides in the car (Tēr). There were good pictures of Vākaṉams for a Brahmotsava in the special edition of the Mail, Madras $^{15}/_{8}$ 1950.

The Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai explains the use of different Vākaṉams as manifestations of different activities of Śiva all to the good for the souls (op. cit. 127 ff.).

[1] See above 52, note 2 and below 203, note 1.

[2] See below 200.

[3] Jagadisa Ayyar, Festivities, 155.

[4] Op. cit. fig. 11 (p. 47) and v. Glasenapp, Heilige Stätten Indiens, Abbildung 171. For an analysis of the role played by the banner cp. Gonda, Aspects of early Visnuism, 255 ff. and Meyer, Trilogie, III, 38, but the full implication of the Dhvajastambha in temples is not made clear.

[5] See above 142.

land belonging to the temple, dance in front of the god, disguised, one as a village headman and the other as hunter-robber.[1]

"The impalement of the Jains" on the 6:th day commemorates the final victory over the rival religion. The Jains were at one time very strong in South India.[2] The Pāṇṭiya king at Mathurai favoured them, and "the Śaiva religion was nowhere to be seen".[3] In the interest of the Śaiva religion the king's minister conspired with the queen to stir up Gnanasambandar, Śiva's devout servant, to wage a decisive battle against the Jains. Both parties wrote their texts or Mantras on leaves and submitted them to the test of fire. Gnanasambandar's leaf came out unscathed, but the 8000 Mantras of the Jains were consumed by fire. Further tests followed with the same result, and the Jains were offered peace, if they would take on sacred ashes and wear the Rudrākṣa (the rosary of the Śaivites). As they refused they were all impaled. This is enacted in the temple every year.

On the 8:th day a love quarrel (Ūṭal) takes place between the god and the goddess, and in the evening the goddess is crowned (Paṭṭāpiṣēkam) on an altar with six legs. The time is very carefully fixed. In 1947 it had to be done between 6,51 and 7,15 P.M. and in 1951 between 6,43 and 7,19 P.M. at the rising of the sign (Ilakkiṉam) Libra.

The goddess's victory over the eight quarters is celebrated on the 9:th day.

On the 10:th day Subramanyan comes in procession from Tiruparankunram, his famous temple five miles outside Mathurai and arrives before ten o-clock. — In the evening the god and the goddess sit on the swing, a regular part of the wedding ceremony, and their wedding is celebrated within a specified Nāḻikai.

On the 11:th day morning they come in the temple car. This is the climax of the festival.

On the 12:th day they bathe in the Golden Lily Tank (the sacred tank within the precincts of the temple), and Indra is worshipped (Pūcai). The same evening Subramanyan takes leave and returns to his own place.

A brief remark may find its place here. The god and the goddess

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[1] Periya Purāṇam, Vācaṉam, Cuntaramūrtti Nāyaṉar Purāṇam.

[2] Von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, 58—60.

[3] Ālavāy Māṉmiyam, 258.

are a royal couple. They live in the "King's House", Kō-v-il, the common word for temple. Their marriage is celebrated etc. These and other features of a similar pattern require a careful study to understand the full implication of divinity and kingship in South India.

The Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai[1] contains brief and concise information on festival matters. The festivals reveal the five functions of the god, viz. creation (Ciruṭṭi), preservation (Titi), destruction (Caṅkāram), darkening (i.e. "keeping the souls engrossed in the experiences of the world until their Karma is completely worked out" (TL) Tirōpavam), grace (Aṉukkirakam.).

It explains the six kinds of festivals as was just quoted from the Pūrva Kāraṇam.

The result of the celebrations is attributed to the different festivals as follows: One day festivals give wealth to the king, three days festivals gladden Śiva, five days festivals give enjoyment (Skt. Bhoga), seven days festivals make Śiva pleased with the devotees, nine days festivals avert evil, eleven days festivals give prosperity, twelve days festivals give release (Skt. Mokṣa), thirteen days festivals give all wonder-powers (Siddhi), fifteen days festivals give health to the people, seventeen days festivals give religious merits, twentyone days festivals give protection to the world.

If festivals are not celebrated, there will be no well-fare for the village or the people.

The Viṉāviṭai goes on to speak of the result which is to be had from festivals of the half-year, the month, the newmoon day, the fullmoon day etc. The newmoon day gives success in matters of wife and children, the fullmoon day removes all sins etc.

In the week, similarly, Monday gives health, Tuesday gain to the village etc.

The Viṉāviṭai mentions four yearly festivals of ten days length: Piramōtsavam (not a festival to Brahmā but the principal festival of a temple, TL), Teppōtsavam ("floating festival" when the deity is taken on rafts in the tank of the temple, Teppam=raft), Caitrōtsavam (festival in the month of Cittirai), Vasantōtsavam (annual festival in the spring season; may coincide in time with the Caitrōtsavam). The list is not exhaustive. The festivals may follow the sea-

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[1] Op. cit. 124 ff.

sons or the may have connection with the stories of the local Sthalapurāṇas like the Piṭṭu-festival at Mathurai.[1]

There is special significance of release for the soul through Bhakti for the ten days of the great festivals. The first day removes the gross elements (Sthūla), the second day both gross and fine elements, the third day the three kinds of action, qualities, faults, "grasps" (desires) and birth etc. and the tenth day announces the sinking down in the ocean of heavenly bliss.

Eighteen particular performances take place in the temples on festival days. They are divided into five parts to correspond to the five functions of Śiva. These items will require considerable study and explanation as to their meaning and must be left out here. As an example only may be mentioned that creation, the first of the five functions, is indicated by the offering of sprouts (Aṅkurārpaṇam), marriage, hoisting of the banner and binding of the demons (Rākṣasa). — The details of worship will correspond to the rules for Nitya Pūcai, which is comprehensive and complete in itself, including even festivals, Nityōtsavam.

Processions and enacting of myths are, however, the spectacular features of the festivals, whereby they become public functions. Yet the audience — an inadequate word, because the people are present to see much more than to listen — is not of such an importance as to cause the function to be cancelled should it be absent altogether. Processions are known to have gone round the temples at a fairly quick speed without any regard for spectators. Even the festival operates by itself with the result which was just mentioned. "The Utsava brings about Śānti, i.e. destruction of evil influences, and Puṣṭi —, i.e. a well-nourished condition"[2] — But the processions have a meaning to the public. First of all they offer Darśana[3] to everybody even to those who were not allowed to enter the temples.[4] The devotees can also offer flowers, garlands and pieces of silk cloth to the Utsava Mūrtti, the idol carried in

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[1] See above 162.

[2] Gonda, Aspects of early Visnuism, 255.

[3] The importance of this was stressed above 154.

[4] The Temple Entry Act opens the temples to all Hindus nowadays. Formerly the Pañcamas were not allowed to enter the inner precincts of the temples. Notice boards to that effect could be seen e.g. at the Araṅkanātaṉ temple at Srirangam.

procession, which is always different from the representation of the deity permanently residing in the central shrine, the Mūla Mūrtti. Some rich people or societies own halls on the way of the procession.[1] On prepayment of fees the Utsava Mūrtti will stop at their halls for a while as we saw in the printed programme. Fees must be paid in advance for this privilege and silk clothes to be offered to the gods must be handed in for control beforehand.

Offerings are also accepted direct from the public in the street and sacred ashes distributed freely.[2] These festivals attract enormous crowds. The temples will be crowded by people seeking to have Darśana at the time of Pūcai. From the point of view of the devotees who attend the festivals they are Vratas[3], vows which they fulfil. They expect to benefit from the Darśana. Different gods give different boons in different places at different times. People who attend the Cittirai festival at Mathurai are said to propitiate the god of death.[4] Worship at the Āṭipūram festival secures to the worshipper happiness.[5] On the last Friday of the bright fortnight in the month of Āṭi Lakṣmī is worshipped by people in order to be cured of leprosy.[6] At the Kārttikai festival the devotee propitiates the five elements especially the fire etc. etc.[7]

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[1] The road from Alakarkovil to Mathurai, about 12 miles, abounds in such halls allowing for a stop at every half mile at least both coming and going.

[2] For picture see Thomas, Hindu Religion, Customs and Manners, plate XL.

[3] Jagadisa Ayyar, 59.

[4] Jagadisa Ayyar, 72.

[5] Jagadisa Ayyar, 79.

[6] Jagadisa Ayyar, 101.

[7] Similarly the listeners to sacred stories have different benefits. Those who study and those who listen to the 16:th sacred play of Śiva are freed from all troubles (Ālavāy Māṉmiyam, 106). Those who listen to the 25:th will prosper without fear of death. (Ālavāy Māṉmiyam, 127) etc. Cp Lüders: "Die magische Kraft der Wahrheit im alten Indien, 1." Am Schlusse der einzelne Stücke (des Mahabharatas) wird fast immer das sogenannte Śravana Phala angegeben".

The Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai gives for every form (Mūrtti) of Civa a specific result to the worshipper. Those who worship Kalyāṇa Cuntara Mūrtti will always be happy, those who worship Ardhanārīśvara will obtain earthly happiness. The worship of Nīlakaṇṭa Mūrtti will result in the removal of Āṇava Malam (pp. 91 and 93) etc. etc. Similarly the Avatāras of Viṣṇu. See Gonda, Aspects 243.

The year is sometimes held to correspond to the day as at Chidambaram where the six daily bathings of the idol (Apiṣēkaṅkaḷ) correspond to six festivals in the year[1], another reminder of the completeness of the daily worship. It contains all that is needed for the welfare of the world.

One may remark on Underhill's book that he overlooks the connection festivals have with the life of vegetation and agriculture.[2] Poṅkal, for example, is also a harvest festival in South India not merely in Bengal[3], when a meal should be prepared of the first grains of the year. The gods of the Mīṉākṣi temple (and also the gods from the Viṣṇu temple on a different day) go in procession to a village called Cintamani just outside the city on the day before fullmoon in the month of Tai (Jan.-Feb.) to reap the first ears of a rice field. People fight to secure some corns afterwards and they are being kept for the new cultivation. Ears of the crop, plucked before harvesting begins, are hung up in the hall of the eight Cittis (Aṣṭa Citti Maṇṭapam) of the Mīṉākṣi temple and in village temples and remain throughout the year.[4]

The Mango festival at Karaikkal mentioned by Jouveau-Dubreuil[5] and in a recent article by B. Lembezat[6] is also worth while men-

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[1] Cittānta Caiva Viṉāviṭai, 132.

[2] The chapter on worship of plants, Underhill, The Hindu religious year, 126, does not refer to agriculture.

It is so much more elaborately dealt with by Meyer in his Trilogie Altindischer Feste, which, however, gives a wrong picture of the situation to day, if it pretends to present the whole truth. Open references to generative functions or organs are comparatively rare. In some processions one may occasionally notice a youth playing an obscene act. The Kāmaṉpanṭikai, the festival of Kāma, (See Meyer op. cit. 132—133) is much more a mimic performance of Indra's fight with Śiva and the death of Kāma and Rati than an exuberance of sexual feelings.

Squirting water from bags is a regular feature at the Citraa festival (Cp. below, 251), but its significance of urinating or ejection of semen as Meyer wants to interpret (op. cit. 25 ff.) is hardly evident to common people. — It is the same with many rites and ingredients perhaps originally meant to increase fertility (e.g. the yellow ochre). One has to tune down its sexual connotation considerably in order to arrive at a true appraisal of its role in present day life. This refers not in the least to the Linga itself.

[3] Underhill, op. cit. 39.

[4] Cp. below 199.

[5] Iconographie, 57.

[6] RHR, CXLIV, No. 1, 78.

tioning in this connection. Lembezat does not believe that mangos originally had anything to do with the festival.[1] He thinks it was originally a Hieros Gamos with human sacrifice and bases his conviction on an analysis of customs connected with the festival and on the story of Karaikkal Ammai. She was one of the 63 Śaivite saints[2] and a poetess. Her songs are recorded in the Patiṉorāntirumuṟai[3], an old Tamil classic. Perhaps the conclusions go too far, but there is a connection with fertility, anyhow. — If we analyse the festivals which are particularily numerous during the harvesting season and immediately afterwards, we might find more connection with vegetation. But this original idea has become obscure through an overgrowth of standard Hindu myths and legends linked up with common, codified ritual, and a careful analysis will be required in most cases in order to reach back to the real contents of the festival.

One festival is very clear in its purpose, the Āyutapūcai, which takes place in the month of September-October. In South India it does not coincide with the Tīpāvaḷi (the row of light) festival[4] as Crooke says[5], but has a day of its own in the Navarātri after Sarasvatī Pūjā.[6] On that day all possible implements and tools become the objects of Pūcai in the real sense of the word.[7] They are besmeared and stained with saffron and vermilion. All desks and almirahs in the offices, Government as well as private, are similarly stained. On the 18:th July 1951 I visited a rich book-merchant at Mathurai. There were stains on the electric switch-board, on the radio, on the family pictures and on the doors. The coloured stains may have been there since last year's Āyuta Pūcai, but worship of the tools and implements of livelihood is not confined to the festival alone. In a baker's shop, Town Hall road, Mathurai, I witnessed how the owner every Tuesday and Friday burnt incense

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[1] The argument that mangos are not important to the people is not altogether conclusive, because those parts of South India are indeed famous for their mango fruits.

[2] Periya Purāṇam, 151.

[3] Lehmann, Die sivaitische Frömmigkeit, 37.

[4] See Underhill, op. cit. 59 ff.

[5] Crooke, 331. Cp. Filchner-Marathe, Hindustan im Festgewand, 149 ff.

[6] See Underhill, op. cit. 53 ff. Cp. Filchner-Marathe, op. cit. 118 ff.

[7] Cp. Charpentier in IA, Vol. LVI, 93 and above 66, note 2.

in a small brass bowl with live coals immediately before and after the light was put on. Flowers were wrapped round the (most modern) scales and attached to a picture of Sarasvatī inside a glass almirah. The incense was lifted to the neon light, to the scales, inside the drawer, where the money was kept, and to Sarasvatī. The owner and his assistant made obeisance but did not mention the name of any god or say any prayers.

During the Āyuta Pūcai motorcars and buses are decorated with sugarcanes and flower garlands and offerings of cooked rice, coconuts and betel placed in front of the cars, and again such Pūcai is in some places carried out daily before the bus is taken out of the shed.[1]

A further account of the Āyuta Pūcai is given by Whitehead[2] telling of a man who sacrificed a goat to his motorcycle. That is unusual. The tools and desks are not conceived as divinities.[3] It is a matter of securing good use of them by means of auspicious ingredients and signs of red and yellow and fruits and flowers. The action is in line with the custom of smearing one's body with sandal paste on auspicious occasions. It does mean in both cases a coming into the sphere of benign and effective power.

A more complete ritual is followed during the Sarasvatī Pūjā[4], when books are placed around an image of Sarasvatī. The idea is the same, however. By means of an appropriate ritual the books or the tools are made suitable for their purpose and effective and the owner or workman safe and successful in handling them. This festival is not connected with the temples except in so far that they also have tools and inventories to besmear.

Like Āyuta Pūcai many festivals are not directly or exclusively connected with the temples, e.g. Poṅkal in January, Viṉāyaka Caturtti[5] in August, Navarātri with Sarasvatī Pūjā in October and

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[1] A Christian driver had to give up his job, because his conscience prevented him from this mode of obtaining assurance for a safe drive. On the other hand a Christian who had acquired a lorry of his own, decorated it and got his bishop's blessing to the vehicle before he started his lorry service.

[2] Whitehead, 89.

[3] Filchner-Marathe differently, op. cit. 142.

[4] Jagadisa Ayyar, 140 ff. Cp also Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 429, according to whom it takes place in the spring in Bengal.

[5] A festival to Gaṇeśa.

Tīpāvaḷi[1] in November. During these festivals the main part of the celebrations take place at home.[2]

The festivals are usually arranged in order of their occurrence in the calendar. It is, however, of some importance to group them according to a classification of the gods and their temples. The first group will consist of Śiva and Viṣṇu with their retinues, even when they have temples of their own as Subramanyan[3] and Kāmākṣi.[4] To this belong all the major temples. They are served by Brāhman priests and clearly marked as belonging to one sect or the other.

As a second group should be taken shrines to Kaṇēcaṉ or Piḷḷaiyār as he is usually called. Although he is Śiva's son, his role as Vikkiṉēcuraṉ (Skt. Vighneśvara), lord of obstacles, gives him a separate shrine in every village and almost every street. He has his place as a watchman in his father's temple like Subramanyan, but unlike Subramanyan he has no major temple of his own (except possibly the Ucci Piḷḷayār temple at Tiriccirappalli). On the other hand his function outside the Śiva temples is much less sectarian and much more general, than that of any other god within the first group.

The third group generally goes under the name Grāmadevatā[5],

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[1] The row of light festival. — In the ABORI, vol. XXVI P. K. Gode referring to an article by B.A. Gupte in IA, XXXII, 237—239 traces the "Divāli" festival to agricultural and home origines. See also the thorough historical analysis by Meyer, Trilogie, vol. II, particularly 203—4.

[2] For more details references may be made to Underhill, op. cit. 75 ff., Jagadisa Ayyar, op. cit. 1 ff. and Stevenson, op. cit. 263 ff. Cp. also Filchner-Marathe op. cit. 107 and Hopkins. Festivals and fasts, ERE, vol. V, 869—71.

[3] Tiruparankunram, Tiruccentur, Palni and many places, Acc. to AC there are six chief centres for Subramanyam (s.v.).

[4] Kancipuram and elsewhere.

[5] Whitehead, 11 ff., Konow in Illustreret Religionshistorie, 602. Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 209, Crooke, Folklore 83, Rice, Hindu customs, 213. Dumont, Definition structurale d'un dieu populaire tamoul, 259, makes a distinction between a god residing in a village and a god of a certain village. He refutes Whitehead's idea of a goddess as an eponym of a village (The village gods of South India, 23 ff.). — There is very little, he says, of the mother-goddess type. The common word used for goddess, Ammaṉ, is just an honorific address as e.g. Mari Ammaṉ = The Lady of smallpox, "Dame de la variole".

Basing his observations on the structure of society Dumont distinguishes

a name which is not very adequate. First of all these gods are by no means restricted to villages. They are found in all the big towns and cities in India, in the centre of Banaras, on the pavement of the big thoroughfares of Madras: China Bazaar Road, Thana Street etc. and they have sometimes big temples, The Poṉṉammaṉ temple at Egmore, Madras, the Māriyammaṉ temples at Virudhunagar and Dindigul will serve as examples. It is correct to say with Crooke that their influence is restricted to a local area, but even that statement will have to be qualified. Some of them spread their influence to many places preserving their local name as e.g. Periyapālayattammaṉ, á female deity from a village outside Madras. Her shrines and name is found in many places in Madras and elsewhere. Many gods appear in many places or rather everywhere under the same name. Māriyammaṉ, Aiyaṉār, Kaṟuppaṉ with their 21, 42 or 63 attendants have temples and shrines all over the Mathurai district. They will be conceived as guardians and rulers over a restricted locality, but nobody will think that Aiyaṉār at Cochidi is a different god from Aiyaṉār of Vilankudi. Bearing this in mind one must remember that also the great gods, Śiva and Viṣṇu have different names in different places and are conceived as rulers over certain areas or Kṣētras, although they still preserve their universal character. Certain qualities can be given whereby one can comprehend what is meant by the term 'Grāma-devatā' but they are different from the greater gods in degree rather than in kind. They are qualified first by as a rule not being served by Brāhman priests.[1] Secondly they are often worshipped by a certain group of people only. This group may be defined as people living within certain geographical limits (a village or a block or a street) or as a caste. Their power is often restricted to a locality or to a certain function.

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between gods of a lineage and gods of a locality. The latter kind could have been called 'Village gods' but for the fact that 'Village' is not an unambiguous word. Aiyaṉār, says Dumont, is a god of lineage in the first place.

[1] Exceptions are such cases as when Periya Kaṟuppaṉ residing in a separate shrine outside a Viṣṇu temple at Mathurai (Piracaṉṉavēṅkaṭēcuvar, Krishna Kovil street) is served by the Brāhmans of the Viṣṇu temple. The 18 steps Kaṟuppaṉ, said to be the original god bearing the name Kaṟuppaṉ (Radha Krishna, 212), who similarly watches the doors of Paramacāmi (Viṣṇu,) at Alakarkovil, will also get Naivēttiyam from the temple but offered to him by the Paricārakars only, not by the Paṭṭar. A Pūcāri of the potter caste serves the public handing out sacred ashes etc.

They have smaller shrines and are sometimes represented by stones and bricks (although they just as often have forms of fixed conventional shape). Some receive animal sacrifices. Many of them 'descend' (Iṟaṅku), i.e. their devotees become possessed by them. Negatively they can be recognized from their lack of distinct marks belonging to the Śaivite or Vaiṣṇava sects.

A fourth group is spoken of a Kula-devatā.[1] This does not mean a separate group of gods but gods of a choice as a god chosen by a family who will assemble for worship at his temple once a year or when occasion arises. This can hardly be distinguished from a Grāma-devatā worshipped by a caste except in so far as the Grāma-devatā has its shrine close by, whereas the Kula-devatā may be far away at a place from where the people once came. A typical instance is related below (263). The building of the railway has forced a group of leatherworkers to move three miles outside Mathurai, but now and then they have to be given access to their old Kula-devatā (Pūkkuḻicōṇai), whose pillar remains undisturbed among the modern houses in the railway colony. It is to be noted that he does not move along with his devotees. He only visits them occasionally in the shape of the common substitute, the sacred pot. The same holds good for the Iṣṭa-devatā[2], a god chosen by an individual as the object of his special pious attention, from whom he expects help, be it spiritually or materially. The choice is wider than in the case of Kula-devatā, who are usually in group three. Subramanyan or Hanuman and practically any god can be Iṣṭa-devatā. He would mostly belong to group 1. — Gods worshipped at home, i.e. family gods in a strict sense, can be of any kind. A Brāhman family at Tiruvallur had a picture of Vīrarākavar, the local representation of Viṣṇu, in their home. A son in the house said to me. "He is our Lord. We worship him every morning and every evening". Many homes have a separate little room for Pūcai with pictures or small metal idols and the necessary lamps, spoons and trays.

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[1] Konow, op. cit. 602. Sometimes they are ancestors. So outside the Kiḻakuṭi temple to Aiyaṉār, Mathurai district. The Kula-devatās are represented by relief images on stone slabs just outside the gate. They are gods by title only (Paṭṭataivaṅkaḷ) and not allowed inside the walls.

[2] Konow, op. cit. 602 and Sarma, The Nature and history of Hinduism, The Religion of the Hindus, 5.

As far as festivals are concerned Kula-devatā and Iṣṭa-devatā do not count, because they are not materially different from the three groups, into which the gods can be divided from the point of view of their nature and function.

The Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava temples have their festival calendar fixed of which a brief account was just given. There are no festivals to Viṇāyakar except the Viṇāyaka Caturtti in August, but that is more a home festival than a temple celebration.[1] Owing to his peculiar function as remover of obstacles he may be worshipped at any festival and on any important occasion[2], but festivals conducted solely to the honour of Viṇāyakar are rare.

The village deities usually have one festival a year, but they may be neglected and taken up again at times of crisis, which will give us reason to study them later. The annual festivals to village deities are described by bishop Whitehead and others[3], but many local festivals have not yet been studied.[4] We must be satisfied with some common details picked out as typical. Pūcai takes place in the shrine, which is usually richly decorated for the occasion. The idol is treated in the same way as in the big temples only with

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[1] Jagadisa Ayyar, 124 ff. and 199. Cp. also Barnouw: The changing character of a Hindu festival, where Viṇāyakar's role in the nationalistic movement is spoken of.

[2] Before kindling the fire in a brick-kiln people made a Piḷḷaiyār of saffron and worshipped him. (Mathurai, August 1953).

[3] Articles scattered here and there in various magazines relate the ceremonies at local festivals, *e.g.* the account of the Karaikal festival by Lembezat just mentioned (above 169).

IA, vol. X, 245 has an account of a festival to Ellamma

IA, vol. XI, 143 tells of "a buffalo sacrifice" in Salem district on 7/3 1907. F. J. Richards.

The QJ.MS vol. XXI, 50 The Sabari Mala Pagoda, by L. A. Krishna Iyer. Contains an account of the Mahāviḷakku festival at this very important shrine in the Travancore hills. A great many Tamilians visit the temple, and the god Aiyappaṉ is worshipped in many homes and small shrines at Mathurai.

The JRAS 1871, 91 contains an account of the Poṅkal festival in S. India by C. A. Gover.

Reference may also be made to Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste.

[4] Dumont will probably describe the festivals of the Piṟamalai Kaḷḷar in a book announced by him in JA, CCXLI, 1953, 255 ff.

less details. Bathing, dressing and garlanding the deity will be done by the Pūcāri. He will perform light offering (Āratti, Tipārātaṉai) and offer Naivēttiyam, but there will be less Mantras and fewer Nyāsas. A procession will take place. Even village deities may have vehicles (Vākaṉam) and an Utsava Mūrtti (a movable image for festivals), but more often the deity will be represented by a Karakam.[1] This is a pot filled with water and decorated with mango leaves duly dedicated on the bank of a river or a tank, tied with Kāppu, to 'keep' it for the purpose, and after the festival thrown into the water. It represents the deity and is carried in procession. The Pūcāri skillfully balances it on his head and dances. The flour lamp (Māviḷakku) is another item of worship which occurs frequently. We have seen the practice at the Māriyammaṉ temple at Dindigul.[2] At Sabarimalai the chief festival in January is called Mahāviḷakku.[3] Every Friday evening women light flour lamps in front of the Vaṇṭiyūr Māriyammaṉ temple at Mathurai. Processions to temples of other Grāma-devatās in and near Mathurai quite frequently carry these lamps. — Poṅkal or the offering of cooked rice, often prepared in front of the temple is a regular feature at the festivals. The food is offered to the god and then eaten, preferably on the spot within the temple precincts. It means thus partaking of the sacred, powerful stuff and a close fellowship between the worshippers, although the food is eaten family by family. — Another regular item is the Pālikai (Skt. Pālikā), an earthen pot, in which nine different seeds are sown and allowed to sprout. They are carried in procession usually by women and placed on the ground at the temple. The women then dance around them. There can be dozens of them, each family bringing its own pot. At the weddings they form an important part of the ritual in South India, the Aṅkurārppaṇam (Skt. Aṅkura+Arpaṇa), as also in temple rituals.[4]

A festival to a Grāma-devatā may last for three days. The first day is devoted to the preparation and dedication of the Karakam, the sacred pot. On the second day they will have the ceremonies with

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[1] Cp. the nine vessels in the Piratōṣakāla worship above 145. For details see Whitehead, 37.

[2] Above 140, note 2.

[3] The great lamp.

[4] Gonda, Aspects, 259 ff. Cp. above 96, note 3.

the flour lamp and the Pālikai, and on the third they will have the Poṅkal feast.[1]

Karakam, flour lamp and Poṅkal are not unknown in the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇava temples, but other details of the festival ritual for the Grāma-devatā are not found inside the big temples. It is characteristic of many Grāma-devatās that they "descend" (Iṟaṅku), on their devotees either on the Pūcāri or on somebody else, who is then a Cāmiyāṭi, i.e. a god-dancer. These people have a certain standing as chosen by the god. As a rule they become possessed only at festivals, when the god is expected to communicate with his devotees. They are distinguished from a vast group of people of a certain mental disposition, who sometimes make a trade of their ability to become possessed.[2] They act as soothsayers and diviners and have a varied reputation. We shall hear more of them later as instrumental in solving people's problems.[3] They are not allowed inside the bigger temples. It would amount to the opening of the temple-doors to the Grāma-devatās themselves, and they are not personae gratae in the surroundings of Śiva and Viṣṇu.[4]

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[1] It was celebrated in this way to Vaṉappattira Kāḷi, New Jail road, Mathurai, 14—16:th April 1953.

[2] I look at these phenomena from the people's point of view without entering into the question how they shall be psychologically understood and classified. Cp. the criticism in Andrae, Mystikens psykologi, 96—98.

[3] See below 221 ff.

[4] In order to ascertain the correctness of this view I addressed this question: "Do Kōṭaṅkis or Cāmiyāṭis ever enter the Mīṉākṣi temple?" direct to the Paṭṭars. I received the following reply, which I consider to be supporting my statement in spite of the exception it refers to.

"Formerly Kōṭaṅkis and Cāmiyāṭis used to come to the Mīṉākṣi Ammaṉ's temple during the Nine nights festival (Navarāttiri) to invoke the goddess and drive out devils and evil spirits (Pēy, Picācu), but for the last 15—20 years the practice has stopped.

Now they come along with Aḻakar (Viṣṇu from Alakarkovil, 12 miles north of Mathurai) when he descends into the river (at The Cittirai festival). Then they go and have Darśana (See above 154) of Maturaivīraṉ (a minor god, whose shrine is outside the Mīṉākṣi temple) and then come as far as the door of Mīṉākṣi's sleeping chamber, have Darśana only and go away. There is no 'god-dancing' and they do not come at other times."

From this one may conclude that Mīṉākṣi as originally a local goddess akin to any other Ammaṉ and later connected with Śiva kept up some connection with her original devotees, but the bonds have loosened and what is left is a respectful salutation from a distance. Of any approach to Śiva there is no talk.

Finally we have animal sacrifices, which are a horror to the greater gods. Killing animals in public is forbidden inside the Mathurai city limits, but sheep and fowl might be killed at home. A goat may be brought to the temple decorated with a garland of flowers and then taken away for slaughter at home. This was hinted at by a Pūcāri during the Mariyammaṉ festival at Mathurai 1953. In the villages animal sacrifices are still practiced. The author saw several in April 1949, but they are becoming rare, and there is agitation against them. It must be remembered, however, that only twenty years ago animal sacrifices were a common feature at many of the shrines and temples to the Grāma-devatās.[1] A dozen and sometimes 50 to 100 goats were killed on a single occasion. In 1936 buffalo sacrifice still took place in the heart of the Mathurai city in the Cellattammaṉ temple. The village deities are divided into two groups from the point of view of animal sacrifices, clean gods and unclean gods (Cutta and Acutta). The clean gods will not tolerate animal sacrifices and therefore a screen is put between them and the scene. Aiyaṉār is such a god[2], and when one of his many 'relatives' e.g. Kaṟuppaṉ or Cōṇai or Rākkāy are to be appeased with animal sacrifices, the doors of his shrine must be shut.

The annual festivals secure good years. The goddess Vaṉapacci, represented by a trident at the foot of a tree on New Jail road, Mathurai, is worshipped once a year. "Then we get rain", said the Pūcāri. The negative aspect was stressed by a Pūcāri at Kokkulam, a village near Sekkaṉūraṉi, Mathurai district: "If we don't sacrifice, we will suffer losses". The festivals in honour of the 'family gods' (Kula-devatās) especially will strengthen the bonds of unity among the members of the group taking part. Any festival will be a matter of common interest and effect solidarity in the village or in the block. This is partly due to and manifested by a common subscrip-

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[1] The following note about animal sacrifices at Alakarkovil is a proof of their frequent occurrence as late as 1942. "... we see every year sheep are slaughtered in their thousands besides other kinds of sacrifice such as fowls etc. within the temple area. If these sacrifices are not for Śrī Lord Sundararājā or for Śrī Kaṟupaṇṇa Swami to whom else are these sacrifices made is a problem for investigation." (Radha Krishna, Tirumalirunjolaimalai, 267).

[2] About Aiyaṉār see Elmore, 152 and Dumont, Definition structurale d'un dieu populaire tamoul, 255 ff.

tion to meet the expenses. Disunion and faction will, on the other hand, be the cause for not celebrating the festivals, but their regular occurrence gives a sense of security, which most people are reluctant to lose.

Festivals bring blessings also to the individuals directly. On those occasions the gods and all that they stand for are to an intensive degree accessible to everybody, even to those who formerly could not see them in the temples because of their social disability[1], and during the processions they bring their beneficial influence right home to the expectant crowds. In as much as the festivals take place at auspicious moments, the contact between gods and men is hundred percent beneficial and safe and unimpeded by any noxious influence. In simple calculation the occasion forms an instrument for achieving maximum effect[2], while it to many means an answer to a secret longing for the awe inspiring sight of the gods.

On the instrumental character of the festivals the following observation may be made. The three-days festival gladdens Śiva (Cantōṣippi). It could have meant a direct way of doing it. If the festival had a ritual which aimed at making Śiva glad by delicious food or dancing and music or by doing things which please the god such as sitting in deep meditation or abandoning oneself in enrapturing love for Śiva, the rites were not to be classified as instruments. But there is no difference among the rituals. Essentially the same items of rites at one time gladden Śiva and at another bring about health and wealth. The original connotation of the rituals matters little. Their efficacy is but loosely connected with their contents. As they are celebrated to-day one cannot ascribe to them their right place and purpose by a penetrating analysis of the details.

In this connection these remarks on the formal function of the festivals will suffice. A wide field of research opens up as soon as one wants to know the particular significance of the various festivals and their ritualistic details. In the actual situation of to-day one must guard against reading too much into the character of the

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[1] Persons suffering from contagious and mental diseases are forbidden to enter temples.

[2] The ritual and the effect of Vaiṣṇava festivals are described by Gonda, Aspects 232 ff. Note particularly 242.

festival. Even if, for example, in bygone days the details of the ritual referred to fertility in no uncertain terms, the colour of the festival has nowadays often "paled" down to a joyful observation for general security's sake, not to speak of the feelings of joy and devotion it will create in the crowds.

d. THE CYCLE OF LIFE

It is natural to fall back on the Saṃskāras for a hold on the ceremonies that follow an Indian's course of life. They are conveniently quoted from Monier Williams as 1. Impregnation (Garbhādhāna), 2. Maleproduction (Puṃsavana), 3. Hair-parting (Sīmantonnayana), 4. Birth-ceremony (Jātakarma), 5. Name-giving (Nāmakaraṇa), 6. Carrying out (Niṣkramaṇa) 7. Food-giving (Annaprāśana), 8. Tonsure (Cūḍākarma), 9. Initiation (Upanayana), 10. Cutting off the hair (Keśānta), 11. Return from the house of the preceptor (Samāvartana), 12. Marriage (Vivāha).[1]

The Saṃskāras follow the life of the individual from birth to death.[2] They are the rites of the 'Twice-born', which in South India means practically only the Brāhmans, but some of them are performed by members of other castes as well. — They are performed with the help of family Purohits who are priests of the Vedic tradition and not attached to the temples. Among non-Brāhmans a 'Guru'[3] functions as family priest on these occasions, which means

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[1] Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 353. The number of the Saṃskāras is not fixed. See Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, 41. The Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra has 18 (Praśna I, Khaṇḍa 2). The Śaivas have 16 beginning with Ṛtusaṅgamana (chosing the appropriate time after menstruation for sexual union) before Garbhādhāna. After Annaprāśana comes a ceremony of cleaning and purification, when the child is taken out from the lying-in-chamber for the first time and "Śiva established" (Uttāpaṇam, Skt. Utthāpana). After Annaprāśana follows Piṇṭavarttaṇam, when the fire is worshipped, Mantras read over the child, and it is given honey and milk, all for the "increase of the body". After Upanayana follow two ceremonies for the beginning and the closing of the study of a portion of the Veda (Kāṇṭōpakaraṇam and Kāṇṭamōcaṇam). See Caivapūṣaṇam, 154—157.

[2] Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur 41 ff.

[3] The Brāhman Purohit may also be called a Guru, but more often the name is reserved for a spiritual leader.

among Śaivites a person who has had three Tīkṣai.[1] Common people often call him Paṇṭāram, a term not quite clear in meaning.[2]

A separate investigation would be needed to find out to what extent the Saṃskāras are in actual use. The marriage (Vivāha) stands alone in that respect as common to all but with much variation in details.[3] Ceremonies of Vedic origin are still in use among many groups.[4] Upanayaṉam is compulsory to all Brāhmans, but the sacred thread is worn also by certain artisans (Ācāri). The Garbhādhāna and even Puṃsavana[5] seem to form part of the Vivāha as can be seen for example from the description of marriage ceremonies in Thurston's work.[6] Sīmantonnayana and Annaprāśana and Samāvartana are common. The Annaprāśana is observed in some measure by non-Brāhmans also.

The ear-boring ceremony, which is not mentioned among the twelve Saṃskāras, is common to all people as far as girls are concerned. It may have a connection with the Karṇa Vedha Saṃskāra[7], which takes place in the third or fifth year according to Hillebrandt but according to Mrs. Stevenson before the sixth day.[8] The Vedic Saṃskāras show a predominant interest in the male sex.[9] The absence of ceremonies relating to the reaching of maturity of girls

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[1] TL. See above 51 note 5.

[2] The TL says "1. Religious mendicant, 2. A Śaiva monk, 3. A Caste of non-Brāhman Śaivites who sell garlands of flowers."

The word actually refers to a caste as well as to a profession. Sp. Thurston, Castes and Tribes, VI, 45.

[3] Thurston, op. cit., pays much attention to the various marriage rituals.

[4] "... the same sacraments for all classes of people the only difference being that among the lower classes the sacraments are not accompanied by the recitation of the sacred Mantras." Dandekar, The Role of Man in Hinduism 142—3.

[5] According to Hillebrandt it takes place in the second or third month of pregnancy. Hillebrandt, 41.

[6] Thurston, Vol. I, 292.

[7] See Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 360.

[8] Hillebrandt, op. cit. 50 quoting only one manuscript. Stevenson, Rites, 23. Among non-Brāhmans in S. India the ceremony comes later, but the Pañcāṅkam says on the 12:th or 16:th day or after 6, 7 or 8 months.

[9] Ceremonies performed for females omit the Mantras (Hillebrandt, op. cit. 45) just as in the case of lower classes. Cp. above, note 4 and Manu II:66.

stands in glaring contrast to the importance attached to them in South India to-day.

We proceed to give a very brief survey of the more important ceremonies connected with the regular course of life.[1]

A child begins its existence under the protection of many precautionary measures.[2] Obstructive or inauspicious signs have been avoided or propitiated.[3] Even at a Christian wedding the mother of the bride or bridegroom is not welcome, if she is a widow.[4] Barren women are kept aside and also women who have miscarried or have no sons. The bed of the lying-in woman must not stand underneath a beam or be turned southwards.[5] Everything must be

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[1] For a complete picture references may be made to the Gṛhya Sūtras, SBE, vols. XXIX and XXX, Hillebrandt, op. cit. 41—68, Henry, Magie, 81—85 (When Henry writes: "... mais comme ils (Saṃskāras) font partie de la technique religieuse, qu'à ce titre ils echappent à la magie ...", he does not himself separate them from the realm of magic — which is quite correct), Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 353, Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. II, 188 ff. Mrs. Stevenson has given a detailed account of the Saṃskāras as they are performed in western India, op. cit. 1 ff. Valuable information even on present day usage is found in Dubois, Hindu Manners and Customs and in Herklots, Canoon-E-Islam. The last book has a special interest, because it presents several ceremonies performed by Muslims which are almost parallel to Hindu rites. The "Puttee" signifies the division of the woman's hair. We are reminded of the Sīmantonnayana, although the time does not fit, since it takes place three days after confinement, whereas the Vedic ceremony at any rate takes place before the child is born. The Muhammadan baby is given a mixture of honey and water before it takes milk from its mother, which is also part of the Jātakarma ceremony. — Thurston, op. cit. contains a great number of ceremonies often described in detail. A study of the items of ritual belonging to the Saṃskāras has been made by Raj Bali Pandey, Hindu Saṃskāras.

[2] Some examples are taken from Mrs. Stevenson, because they are typical and prevalent all over India, although there may be variety in detail.

[3] See below about Navagraha Cānti 278 ff.

[4] Unmistakable signs of this attitude were shown at a wedding in the Ramnad district in 1943. The situation is worth a reflection. The widow is a reminder of ill-luck. Her presence at this moment can be a foreboding of evil. The thought of it is strong enough to cause fear. Fear connects her presence with evil without reasoning. The act of keeping her away has no direct (i.e. here=intelligible) cause, but pressed for a reason people will answer: "In order to avoid ill-luck". The possible cause (the widow) is kept out of the ceremony. The widow is considered instrumental in bringing about ill-luck not only foreboding it.

[5] Stevenson, 2.

loosened, her dress, skirt, hair etc. The symbolical meaning is obvious, just as the fact that she is forbidden to close the granary or patch up a hole in the oven.[1] As soon as the child is born, some margosa leaves are hung over the door. It is an announcement as well as a protection. "The air is purified through the leaves", people say. The afterbirth is sometimes buried under the mother's sleeping place with a copper coin, turmeric, salt and an areca nut.[2] — In order to protect the mother from bleeding too much the following precautionary method is adopted in Madras in the old Poṉṉamma̱ṉ temple near the Egmore railway station. A square five feet by six is formed by raising a low ridge on the ground in the south eastern corner and conical figures, numbering 18, are formed of clay along the ridge and one in the centre slightly bigger than the others. It represents Kāṭṭēṟi, a malignant female deity. The expectant mother goes there some time before her delivery accompanied by other women and worships Kāṭṭēṟi. Nobody else is allowed to come near the place, which is screened off. The ceremony takes place at night, and the woman must be naked during the ceremony. Another ceremony follows after delivery.[3]

The umbilical cord is dried and tied around the neck of the child. The scissors as well as the crowbar with which a hole is being dug under the mother's bed is kept in the room for six days.[4]

Before leaving the customs connected with childbirth, a usage from the animal world deserves mentioning. The afterbirth from a cow or an ewe is wrapped in straw and hung in a "milky" tree.[5] It is very often a banyan tree, but fig trees and others are also found, wearing these 'ornaments'. It is a common sight everywhere in South India. The explanation given by common folk is that through this arrangement the mother will give more milk. A more likely explanation is the concept of the afterbirth as a soul[6], a double of the new-born calf or kid. It must not touch the earth lest the animal should die. A similar idea was given expression to by a Mantiravāti[6b] of the Ūttukāṭṭampāḷ temple near Elephant Gate in Madras. He

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[1] Stevenson, 3.
[2] Stevenson, 5.
[3] Local information June 1945.
[4] Stevenson, 5.
[5] Cp. Meyer, Trilogie, III, 195.
[6] Van der Leeuw, Phänomenologie, 271. [6b] See below 268.

was also Pūcāri but used to prepare charms, (Kuḷicam)[1] consisting of characters engraved on a piece of metal. He said that if the charm for any reason were to be taken off the person who wears it, it must be hung up in a tree and not dropped on the ground. Letting it touch the ground would be Pāvam (sin and misfortune) implying loss of power to the amulet as well as danger to the person wearing it.

On the 12:th day the child gets its name (Nāmakaraṇa) or on the 11:th if it is a boy and on the 12:th if it is a girl.[2] Even numbers are considered unlucky.

A piece of red string made of cotton and silk will be tied around the arm or leg of the baby to avert the evil eye, according to Mrs. Stevenson.[3] It is better explained, however, as Kāppu[4] with all it implies of dedication, encircling and protection. A red square has been painted on the floor and leaves of the pipal tree[5] spread over it. Four female relatives will be swinging the baby in a saree over the square while an aunt is singing a verse, in which the name is inserted. The name is chosen with reference to the "star" (Nakṣattiram) under which the child was born.[6] Each Nakṣattiram has four Pātam (=quarters of its duration) and a letter for each. These can be found in handbooks of astrology. — Birth is not fixed according to the solar calendar, the days of which are called Tēti, but after the lunar year, the date of which is Titi. A Hindu's birthday will therefore not take place on the same date every year.

Annaprāśana, foodgiving, takes place after six months or nine months. This is the first time the child gets solid food. According to Mrs. Stevenson it is given on a silver- or gold coin.[7] Verses from the White Yajur veda (II:83) are recited, if it is a Brāhman boy.[8] Food is this time not primarily given for the sustenance of the body — regular feeding on solid food may begin much later — but for

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[1] See below 277.

[2] The Ramanatapuram Pañcāṅkam for 1953 says that the Brāhmans should have it on the 11:th day, the Kṣattriyas on the 12:th, the Vaiśyas on the 14:th and the Sūdras on the 22:nd. or on specified days to get the Tārapalaṉ (the-good-influence of the stars).

[3] Stevenson, op. cit. 4.

[4] See below 252.

[5] Ficus religiosa.

[6] Cōtiṭa Ariccuvaṭi, 10. Cp. Stevenson, op. cit. 14.

[7] Stevenson, op. cit. 19.

[8] Monier Williams, op. cit. 359.

"strength and health", and therefore the ceremony has its significance as an instrument.

The Caula Karma or haircutting ceremony is performed between the age of three and five. Noteworthy is the plaiting of three pieces of Darbha grass into the hair before cutting it.[1] Cutting or rather shaving the head as a ceremony during the early age of a child is very common in South India among all classes of people. It is generally arranged in places of pilgrimage or on the occasion of a festival to the family god (Kula-devatā). It has become a vow and can be repeated at times of crisis. Alakarkovil in the Mathurai district is a place where many children are brought for this ceremony[2], and so is Palni, where the shaving is done on the river bank. At the festival to Muttaiyaṉ in the Aiyaṉār temple at Cochidi near Mathurai, many children were shaved. The earboring ceremony, referred to by Mrs. Stevenson as Karṇa-vedha[3], often has shaving as a part of the ritual.

The beginning of adolescence of a girl entails a most important function sometimes celebrated like a wedding. The girl is given a bath, dressed in new clothes and placed in a booth erected for the purpose in much the same way as the wedding booth. On the 19:th August 1945 the author attended an Irutucānti[4] ceremony in Madras in a middle class home. The father was a building contractor. This is a propitiatory ceremony to be performed when a girl reaches maturity.[5] It may happen after the wedding, and if so, implies that the time has come for the consummation of the marriage. The girl was seated alone on a piece of white cloth under a canopy covered with mango- and plantain leaves. Two lamps were burning in front of her, and there were some brass vessels containing water and other

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[1] Stevenson, op. cit. 22. Odd numbers of Darbha grass twisted into one represent gods or manes says Daksinamurtti Paṭṭar.

[2] Radha Krishna, op. cit. 271.

[3] Stevenson, op. cit. 23.

[4] See below 207.

[5] The TL defines the term as meaning "propitiatory rite performed in connection with the ceremonial consummation of marriage in the period recognized in the Śāstras as favourable for conception. It does, however, refer to the reaching of maturity of girls whether married or not. In an book on astrology probably of late origin (Cōtiṭa Kiraka Cintāmaṇi by Markkalinka Cōtiṭar, Madras 1923) the Irutucānti comes before Cīmantam after Vivākam, — the appropriate place before the Sarda act was introduced.

liquids. An earthen pot covered with spots of red ochre and having a bouquet of margosa leaves in the opening, represented a deity. The girl was offered (not merely given) fruits, coconuts and sweets. A plate with leaves and burning camphor was waved around her head three times and a coconut presented in the same way. This Āratti ceremony shows that she is in a position that calls for worship or more neutrally expressed "ritual treatment". The same ceremony is performed when a bridal couple is about to enter their new home. Even among Christians it was sometimes a custom to 'greet' the couple outside the door with the waving of lights. A dead person will receive the same honour.[1] It is also true that light is considered to have the effect of removing evil when it is presented in this way.

The initiation (Upanayana) ceremony is described at length by Mrs. Stevenson.[2] A few points only may be noted. As is often the case the ceremony begins with Kāppu, a string is tied around the wrist.[3] A Viṉāyakar (i.e. a clay representative of the god Gaṇeśa) is consecrated for the occasion.[4] New clothes are given to the boy. Thurston gives the Mantra with something of a mythological introduction.[5] Noteworthy is the triple cord of Munja grass[6], which is to be wound three times round the body "to remove sins, purify and protect".[7] Two things are most important, they are: donning the sacred thread and learning the Gāyatrī.[8] Already Manu has stressed the effect of this verse. "He gains the whole merit which the recitation of the Vedas confers". If read outside the village one thousand times, "he will be freed after a month even from great guilt".[9]

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[1] A blacksmith at Tiruvallur died in 1940. He was seated on the bier and offered Āratti before he was taken to the burning ghat.

[2] Stevenson, op. cit. 27 ff.

[3] Cp. Thurston, Castes, Vol. I, 273.

[4] Stevenson, op. cit. 29 says "invoked", Āvāhaṇam. When Mrs. Stevenson adds that he is given a sip of pure water "to make him holy", it is a misinterpretation (perhaps on the part of the Pandit). The god is treated with the details of Pūcai to make him 'serve', and the whole ceremony is part of an effective scheme.

[5] Thurston, op. cit. Vol. I, 274.

[6] Manu II:42.

[7] Thurston, ibm. Cp. Kāppu.

[8] Rg. III:62, 10, cp. Manu II:77.

[9] Manu II:78—79. The Vaikhānasasmārta sūtra says about Upanayana:

We must confine ourselves to very brief outlines and therefore take up the most important and universally celebrated function, the marriage. Even among the poorest classes the marriage ceremonies are elaborate and strictly observed. There are of old eight forms of marriage recorded in the Smṛti literature[1] and they are still taught in modern writings.[2] South India has its own tradition with marriages of different kind according to the five regions (Tiṇai) described in the Tamil classics like Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram and Akanāṉūṟu.[3]

In practice there is but one marriage. The Vaitika Tarma Varttiṉi after having described the eight kinds of marriage and stated the benefit of performing a marriage according to the first four rites — a son born in such marriages will deliver from sin in from 21 to 7 generations — plainly says that the Āsura marriage, which is the fifth and not fit for Brāhmans, is the one now practiced. It involves payment of money, and most marriages are being arranged on the basis of some economic agreement or other. The rites will vary very much. We refer to Thurston for details. As a rule an account is given of the customs for each important caste in his book "Castes and Tribes of South India". Mrs. Stevenson also has a complete description of an Indian wedding.[4] There will be no room for its many details here, but a few items are of particular interest. First we find right at the beginning of the ceremony the Kāppu or Kaṅkaṇam. A string is tied round the right wrist of the bridegroom and round the left wrist of the bride. Its significance is well known[5] as setting apart for a purpose and separating from danger and pollution.

"In the spring, in the fifth year reckoned from the time of conception he should initiate a member of the Brāhman caste who is desirous of spiritual lustre, in the eight year one who is desirous of long life; in the ninth one who is desirous of fortune". (Praśna II Khaṇḍa 3).

[1] The eight forms of marriage are: Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca, Manu III, 21. They are still known to the Tamil people, Vaitika Tarma Varttiṉi, IV, 5—11. For a full account see ERE, VIII, 541, Stevenson, Rites, 55—56. Cp. Caland, Vaikhānasasmārta Sūtra, 66 (III, 1).

[2] Vaitika Tarma Varttiṉi, Vol. 4, No. 8, 137—8.

[3] Cp. Srinivas Iyengar, History of the Tamils, 78—80.

[4] Stevenson, op. cit. 58 ff. Cp. also Padfield, The Hindu at home, 94ff.

[5] See below 252. Cp. also Padfield, op. cit. 102.

The Aṅkurārppaṇam is the custom of sowing seeds in pots a little in advance so that they sprout at the time of the main function.[1] It is the same as Pālikai and is part of the ritual during festivals to the village gods.[2] The salient points are the coincidence of fertility and growth and the number nine. There must be seeds of nine different kinds of grain.

The Tāravārttal or waterpouring ceremony is also rather obvious in its symbolism. Bride and bridegroom clasp each other's hands and water is poured over the hands.

Aracāṇi Pūcai and Mukūrtta Kāl belong to the preparation of the marriage platform. It must contain a branch of the pipal tree (In Tamil Aracu), and one post is particularily important. It is fixed at an auspicious hour and decorated with limes and mango leaves and a red cloth. It has its name from the auspicious time (Mukūrttam) at which it is erected. The meaning is that in as much as the whole marriage booth will have to be erected during a span of time covering both auspicious and inauspicious moments, one part must be arranged with careful attention to the time table of the almanac. It must be borne in mind that the Indian Pañcāṅkam refers not only to days but to hours as well.

Nalaṅku is a ceremony in which the bride and bridegroom daub each other with sandal, saffron and turmeric oil.[3] The TL connects the term with the word Nalam (god, benefit), and thereby its purpose is indicated. The ceremony is in line with the Pūcai in the meaning of smearing.[4]

A similar significance is attached to the Mañcaḷnīr-Āṭutal, a ceremony of merrymaking after the wedding, when close relatives sprinkle saffron water on the married couple.[5]

In Brāhman marriages there will be all the important ceremonies of looking at Arundhatī, the "faithful", fixed star; taking the seven steps; circumambulation of the Homa fire etc. In the marriage booth will be vessels, fruits, grains and a grinding stone etc. Other groups will leave out some of them and substitute other details of ritual.

But there are a few things which will not be missing anywhere.

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[1] Cp. its use in temple rituals above 96, note 3.

[2] See above 176.

[3] TL s.v.

[4] Cp. above 66, note 2.

[5] For its significance as giving fertility see Meyer, Trilogie, I, 25 ff.

In South India the tying of the wedding badge, the Tāli, forms the central and decisive part of the ceremony. It is worn around the neck by the bride and attached to a yellow string. While the Tāli is being tied on, loud music is required to drench any possible inauspicious sound like sneezing.[1]

Another indispensable item is the procession, a sort of driving in state, through the streets. A reception also is always held in some way or other.[2]

Perhaps on no other occasion in the life of man as when life is to be continued through the union between man and woman, is the need felt for protective and effective means for achieving success. When the purpose, as in marriage ceremonies, is intensively present in people's minds, the instruments also tend to become many and effectively conceived.[3]

The Pañcāṅkam enumerates these rites in order to give the auspicious time, on which they must be performed. From the list we can understand which rites are in common use in the Mathurai and Ramnad districts.

1. Pumcavaṉam in the third month of the first pregnancy should preferably be observed on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. It goes on to say which Titis and Nakṣattiraṅkaḷ are suitable.

2. Cīmantam in the fourth, sixth or eighth month of the first pregnancy on the same days and Titis as the Pumcavaṉam etc.

3. Viṣṇupali (sacrifice to Viṣṇu). In the eight month of the first pregnancy on the seventh or twelfth Titi in the forenoon under such and such stars and in the signs prescribed for the Cīmantam (Ilakkiṉaṅkaḷ, see below 200) a sacrifice should be performed to Viṣṇu for the increase of the foetus.

4. Entering the lying-in-chamber. On a Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday or Saturday the 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13 Titi under such and such Nakṣattiraṅkaḷ etc. pregnant women should enter the lying-in-chamber in order to have a safe delivery.

5. Jātaka Karumam is described in full as follows: "As soon as the child is born the father shall go in the northern direction and give gifts of oilseed, paddy, gold, cloths, a cow etc. and together with his relatives see (Taricaṉam)

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[1] Padfield, op. cit. 106.

[2] One might well call the wedding an enthronement considering the features of royal appearance on the part of the bridal couple. Cp. Stevenson, op. cit. 98.

[3] Just one peculiar item may be mentioned. It is called in Tamil Pālum-Aṟukun-Tappi-t-tōytal. TL describes it as follows: "Bath taken with a view to obtain progeny, by the bride and the bridegroom in a marriage, putting milk and Harialli grass on the head".

his son and on an auspicious day write the horoscope of his son".[1] We have already noticed the difference between this and the Jāta-Karma as decribed e.g. by Sir Monier Williams.[2]

6. The five weapon-jewels. On the fifth or seventh day after the child is born one should bathe it in pure water, and while auspicious Grahas (planets) are in ascendence make in gold forms of a conch, a discus, a mace, a bow and a sword and attach them to a golden hip-string and put it round the body of the child about the navel as a Kāppu to protect the child from the approach of demons (Pūtapicācu).

7. Nāmakaraṇam. Namesgiving shall take place on the 11:th day, if it is a Brāhman child, on the 12:th, if it is a Kṣattiriya, on the 14:th, if it is a Vaiciya, and on the 22:nd, if it is a Sūdra. If the ceremony is not performed on the days mentioned, it must be a Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, a certain Titi etc. Only then will the child receive the benefit of the stars (Tārapalaṉ).

8. Placing in the cradle (Toṭṭilēṟṟam). In South India Toṭṭil usually means a saree hung up over a beam. This takes place on the 10:th, 12:th, 16:th, 24:th or 32:nd day after the child is born under an auspicious sign (Ilakkiṉam).

9. Feeding with milk (Pālūṭṭal). On the 31:st or 32:nd day after the child is born, one should feed it with milk from a conch under auspicious signs. In order to obtain pure signs one must worship (Pūcai) the Pūmi Tēvi, the Earth goddess.

10. Seeing the sun (Cūriyataricaṉam). In the third month after its birth one should show the sun to the child on an auspicious day.

11. Seeing the moon and the cow (Cantirakōtaricaṉam). In the fourth month after the child is born during the auspicious time fixed for the Aṉṉapirācaṉam, one should show the moon and a cow to the child.

12. Aṉṉapirācaṉam. The food-giving takes place in the 6:th, 8:th or 10:th month or at the completion of a year on a Monday, Wednesday or Friday on such and such Titi etc.

13. The earboring ceremony (Kātu Kuttal) This comes either on the 12:th or 16:th day or in the 6:th, 7:th or 8:th month, in the latter case on a Monday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday, a certain Titi etc. It must not take place at night.

14. The first anniversary (Aptapūrtti, Skt. Abda+). In the month of its birth and under its birth-star the child should be given a ceremonial bath (Maṅkalasnāṉam), and in order that the child shall have good things one must perform propitiatory ceremonies (Cānti Karumaṅkaḷ) like Homa for long life etc. Under a beneficial sign the child should be given a golden hip cord and new clothes.

15. Cauḷam, shaving or cutting off the hair. It should be performed in the 3:rd or 5:th year, and its time is carefully fixed. The sun should be in its northern course and Venus and Jupiter should be on the sky without setting.

[1] Rāmanatapuram Pañcāṅkam, 1953, 11.

[2] Monier Williams, op. cit. 357.

It must be in the bright half of the month on specified days, Titis etc. Signs in which the sun is, are best for Brāhmans, those where Mars is, for Kṣattiriyas, those where Mercury is for Vaiciyas and Sūdras.

16. The Beginning of letters (Akṣarārampam) is the function by which the child in its fifth year begins to study. This ceremony is included in the Upanayana ceremony in Manu (II:37) and in Stevenson[1] and takes place already in the fifth year, when the boy is expected to show proficiency in learning. Another difference is that both Manu and Stevenson speak of the fifth year after conception, whereas the Tamil Pañcāṅkam uses the phrase Piṟanta (born).

17. Upanayana is even here closely connected with the previous ceremony, because there is no separate statement about the year in which it should take place, but the days, Titis etc. are different.

18. Vivākam, with which we shall deal below 204.

It is worth noting those ceremonies which are not found in Manu Smṛti, viz. the sacrifice to Viṣṇu, entering the lying-in-chamber, the five weapon-jewels, placing in the cradle, feeding with milk, seeing the sun, seing the moon and the cow and the earboring ceremony.[2] Two of them have pure Tamil names, the placing in the cradle and feeding with milk. The earboring ceremony also has a pure Tamil name, but there is an equivalent in Sanskrit, Karṇa Vedha.

These ceremonies are meant to secure a safe transition from one stage of life to another, to protect from evil and to give health and richness. Calling these ceremonies 'purifying rites' on the basis of Manu II:26[3] is not to the point. What the author of Manu Smṛti reads into the old rites is clearly contradicted both by the instruments used and sometimes by a purpose expressly stated to be different. The namesgiving for example should according to Manu II:32 imply such names as will give power to the Kṣattiriya and wealth to the Vaiciya. Through the tying of the sacred girdle of the Muñja grass, the taint derived from both parents is removed, it is said (Manu II:27). This can hardly be the real meaning, but in order to justify a deviation from the old Indian authority the following method of reasoning may find room. One will observe that instruments, although often chosen arbitrarily, that is on associations of an incidental character, also often maintain an

[1] Stevenson, The rites, 27.

[2] But cp. Hillebrandt, op. cit. 48 § 18 where worship of the moon is mentioned, and § 19, under "Der erste Ausgang", looking at the sun.

[3] Cp. TL, Apte and Monier Williams, op. cit. 353.

associative connection with their purpose. — If then, within the same set of rites in the same cultural surroundings, a comparison with similar rites permits a certain interpretation, it is likely to be the true one. — When a reasonable and fairly obvious association is further strengthened by express statements of the meaning of similar rites, the interpretation should be easy. — On these assumptions the girdle of the Munja grass is understood to mean protection and keeping rather than purifying. One is directly reminded of two things, the golden hip-cord and the Kāppu. Their meaning is protection and setting apart but not purification except in the sense of separating from another "context". The later tradition as embodied in the Pañcāṅkam has the purpose clearly stated as e.g. the entering the lying-in-chamber and the five weapon-jewels. Most of the ceremonies form a mode of caring for the tender life, while some, with their rich symbolism, permit a varied interpretation.

The regular course of life is in South India also a constant encounter with dangers. The first day, the first month and the first year are times involving particular dangers. The second day, the second month and the second year threaten with other dangers. The third day, the third month and the third year with yet other risks, and so life goes on up till the 16:th year according to a small booklet: "The malign influence of the stars on children during their first 16 years". It is printed in Madras in 1947 and contains 24 pages. A copy of another edition is in the Tamil Sangam library, Mathurai. I bought a copy in the leading bookshop in Mathurai in 1953. Strictly speaking it belongs to the kind of literature that is being sold on the pavement, but from what was just said it can be inferred that it must have had a certain circulation.[1]

For each number a deity is mentioned as approaching (the child). They are all females except one, Ukravīraṉ.

The first is Mōkaṉāṅki or the bewildering woman, who is also called 'Disgrace'.
The second is Durga also called 'Physician' and 'Blueneck'.
The third is Kāḷi also called 'Convulsive disease'.
The fourth is Pairavi (Bhairavī) also called 'The destructive fire of Rudra'.
The fifth is the Jin goddess also called 'The one of the sky'.
The sixth is the Virgin goddess (Kaṉṉitēvatai) also called 'Physician'.
The seventh is Māriyammai also called Rudra Gaurī.
The eighth is Pakavati (Skt. Bhagavatī) also called 'The brilliant Mātaṅki' (Kāḷi).

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[1] See below 295 ff. about other booklets of the same kind.

The ninth is Kuṭōri (Scratching) also called 'The fire of the Guṇas' (Kuṇatti-vāyākkiṇi).
The tenth is Rudrī also called Ākañcikālākkiṇitēvi (the goddess of the fire of the breast and the head).
The eleventh is Mahākāḷi.
The twelvth is Nīli also called Arakki, (Skt. Rākṣasī).
The thirteenth is Piṭāri also called 'The exalted one'.
The fourteenth is Ukravīraṉ also called "Dullard" (Māṭaṉ).
The fifteenth is Mayāṉaruttiri also called Pēcci.
The sixteenth is Young Mōkiṉi also called 'The Divine Virgin' (Teyvakaṉṉi).

Many of these are well known Grāma-devatās. Some have a distant connection with the higher pantheon, as Rudrī, Kālī, Bhagavatī. The last mentioned goddess protects travellers leaving the plains to enter the hill road into Travancore west of Uttama-palayam, Mathurai district, where she has a small shrine at the roadside. Pēcci is also found among the relatives of Aiyaṉār around Mathurai. Piṭāri is well known in and around Madras.

Their approach is dangerous. In a verse various symptoms of diseases which they bring, are vividly described. The first says:

"It (the child) will be vomiting. Fever will attack, It refuses to eat. A rich and healthy body will be glittering (Miṉumiṉukkum). The two shining eyes will not open. Its motion will be like water, and when it moves its bowels, it will be crying like the sound of a cat and have all sorts of ugly distortions".

On the second day Durga causes emaciation. "The stomach of the child will be swelling, the head drooping and dysentery will come on. It will vomit and grow lean like a frog. It will be frightened and cry, and its eyes will be red. Its body will be perspiring all over and it will be yawning. Fever will attack, and the stomach will be wabbling and the child terrified and throw itself about and crying from this bad Tōṣam".

So the verses go on describing the dangers threatening the health of the child at regular intervals up to its sixteenth year. They give all possible symptoms of diseases which children may suffer from. It is all Tōṣam[1], evil, which may be connected with the planets, with birds, with frogs etc. Here the Tōṣam has been subjected to the power of a female deity or demon rather loosely as can be seen from the remedies attached to each case. The remedy, Parikāram, follows the pattern of the common ritual used by the Mantiravāti, of which

[1] See below 216 ff.

we shall hear more later on, but it may be remarked here that these rites differ from the temple ritual and the Saṃskāras less in the component parts than in the general atmosphere.

In the rites observed at times of death the instrument par excellence is the fire, which carries the dead to the world of the gods.[1] Among the leatherworkers in Mathurai it is a custom to let the dead ride in a palanquin made up like a boat or sometimes like a bird. The method of sending the dead off by means of fire, a bird or a boat is not altogether indirect method. Their symbolism is meant to be taken rather literally as vehicles for the journey to the unknown country.

Rites accompanying death and burial are full of significant details. For a full account of the obsequial rites references may be made to Mrs. Stevenson and Sir Monier Williams.[2] Death brings with it ceremonial impurity with precautionary steps and purifiying ceremonies in its wake. To prevent the recurrence of sorrow, visitors change the usual words used when taking leave: "Having gone I will come again" to "I will go". Funeral processions are often preceded by music and some persons dressed up and dancing or acting a sort of wild merry-making. The evil spirits must not know that this is a funeral. They must think it is a happy crowd and keep away. This is the usual and probably correct explanation. These customs have their definite purpose but less of indirect method, because of the vivid conception of the spirits of the dead. When sometimes traces of the funeral procession are obliterated at a crossway or the corpse taken out through a hole in the wall, which is later closed, it is a direct method of making the spirit lose its way back to its old home. — We have already seen how a dead man was treated as a divine being.[3] A blacksmith aged 25 who died at Tiruvallur in 1940 was offered a tray with a coconut, betel leaves and burning camphor like the gods in temples and shrines. A leather worker in Mathurai told me (July 1953) that in their group the

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[1] Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda 576. Edsman, Ignis Divinus 146, 272 and 282. The complexity of ideas connected with fire gives room to many interpretations. Cp. Stevenson, op. cit. 145: The body is an offering to Agni.

[2] Stevenson, op. cit. 135 ff. Monier Williams, op. cit. 274 ff. The eye witness account from Bombay may specially be noted, op. cit. 284.

[3] See above 186, note 1. Cp. Stevenson, op. cit. 145.

father-in-law and the brother-in-law came and broke coconuts and placed one measure of paddy on each side of the head of the dead man and lit a lamp placed on top of the paddy. When a Roman Catholic boy died of smallpox in Mathurai in 1951, a tray with cooked rice, fruits and sweets and a burning lamp were set at the side of the body.

The Śrāddha[1] ceremonies to the departed spirits are much more indirect in character. The Brāhman sitting in the corridor around the Golden Lily tank of the Mīṇākṣi temple at Mathurai with his many ingredients on the floor in front of him, offering his services for a reasonable fee to anybody who may require it, is evidence enough that the many details of the Śrāddha are not considered to be directly beneficial to the dead but work indirectly. This refers chiefly to the annual ceremony. The ceremonies on the 11:th, 12:th and 13:th day are naturally of a more personal character, but they aim at assisting the departed spirits on their journey by providing the necessary means, e.g. a new body (Yātanā Śarīra[2]). There is an elaborate ritual — which we must leave out here — serving not (merely) as an expression of grief and devotion but as instruments with a purpose. It might be well to repeat here that looking at ceremonies and rites from the point of view of instrument and purpose is in no way an exhaustive account of their meaning. For details reference should be made to Mrs. Stevenson's admirable account.[3]

The rites performed at the different stages of life give little contact with the gods. There is an atheistic trend in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā[4], which would logically form the philosophical background to the Saṃskāras. Common people will surely say that the rites have been instituted by the gods, and it is certain that they would not be performed, if they had no such connection. In actual practice, however, the rites are depended upon as safe measures in themselves. Even the custom to perform some of them, e.g. the hair-

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[1] Manu-Smṛti, III:120—286. For literature see Hillebrandt, Ritual-litteratur, 96—97. See also Kane. History of Dharma Śāstras, vol. IV chapter Śrāddha.

[2] Stevenson, op. cit. 160.

[3] Stevenson, op. cit. 135 ff. Cp. for the Vedic ritual Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, transl. by Caland, book 31.

[4] Tuxen, Brahmanisme, Illustreret Religionshistorie, 567.

cutting and sometimes the marriage in temples or on sacred spots has less character of worship than of an instrumental use of the sacred-effective atmosphere. The only item, which is directly connected with the worship of a god, is the sacrifice to Viṣṇu, but its purpose is clearly stated, for the increase of the foetus.

The essential purpose of securing progeny and preserving life is served by pure instruments. The emphasis lies on the performance, the ingredients, the method, the time, the direction etc. When risks are great and much is at stake, it is to a careful observance of minute details man takes his refuge. Spontaneity and reference to the benevolence of gods, which may have to be negotiated with some uncertainty, come only second.

B. Unforeseen crises

a. MEANS OF FINDING OUT THE CAUSE AND THE REMEDY AND OF ANTICIPATING THE CRISIS

1. Astrology

Finding a system for the arrangement of rituals followed in the regular course of events is comparatively easy. The day, the year and man's life form natural avenues along which the material can be piled at regular intervals. There are no such avenues for critical events, which are critical just because they can not be forestalled and because they do not follow in a predictable sequence. — The word crisis is taken in a wide sense meaning that something is either wanting or wanted.

One may attempt to classify the events according to their nature: diseases, accidents, misfortunes such as childless marriages and unemployment etc. Another way is to classify the remedies: offerings, pilgrimages, visits to sorcerers etc. The former would lay stress on the purpose, the latter on the instrument. Both will have to be kept in view, but it will be more in accordance with the order in the earlier chapters to arrange the remedies to meet the crises under instrumental headings: Arccaṉai (special worship in the temples), pilgrimages, Nērttikkaṭaṉ (votive offerings, also called Pirārttaṉai and Viratam), Yākam (Skt. Yāga, sacrifice) individual or public, festivals of emergency, Māntirīkam[1] by a professional or private, amulets. There are many rites and customs, for which it is easier to find a nomen generis from their purport, e.g. warding off the evil eye, but in order to maintain the mode of classification we call them "instrumental objects and arrangements". To these belong e.g. the custom of tying margosa leaves on the gate before sunrise on the first day of the month Tai as Kāppu[2] (here=protection)

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[1] See below 267.

[2] See above 183. Cp. also P. V. Jagadisa Ayyar, Festivities 12.

and the hanging of ripened ears of rice, plucked before the harvest is cut and skillfully braided, as a gift to the god, Muttu Kaṟuppaṉ.[1]

An important concern about unforeseen crises is to know, if possible, beforehand if and when they are going to come, and to know the grounds and reasons for their occurrence and thirdly, most important of all, how they are going to be averted or remedied. The chief instrument for acquiring this knowledge is astrology (Cōtiṭam, Skt. Jyotiṣa) and allied "sciences".[2] Important is also the enquiry made to "inspired" persons, i.e. individuals on whom a god has descended (Iṟaṅku) or who are possessed by spirits. We shall speak of them subsequently. Man's fate can also be ascertained by throwing lots in front of an idol, and other forms of divination, and lastly there are fortunetellers of various kinds for consultation.

The events of life are controlled by the stars. A man's fate is not only written in the stars. Through their position at the time of his birth a spell is cast over his life. Its course is fixed and will be maintained unless the effect of the stars can be counteracted. Astrology in its practical use comes under the aspect of instrument and purpose. For good or evil an end is given just as the purpose in the case of many rites. The end is this time not due to the will of man, nor, may we say, to the will of God. We find no conception of power independent of the celestial phenomena, but the influence of the stars is sometimes said to be due to Śakti.[3] People in general, however, do not think that they have Śakti in the sense of potential power, but the stars are not just what they appear to be, distant points of light, but phenomena exacting influence over man through their changing interrelated positions. They can be counteracted and appeased, which means that they stand as a third factor in relation to their instruments, the constellations.

The "purpose" for example of a man getting no children was "accomplished" through the position of the planets in the Zodiac at the time of his birth. Once the relationship of constellations happened to be of a certain pattern, man's fate was determined. It

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[1] About Kaṟuppaṉ see Dumont, JA 1953, 255. This example is taken from Sekkanurani, Madura Dist.

[2] See above 58 ff. On astrology and divination as "magic" see Thorndike, A history of magic, I:5.

[3] So professor Sunder, who advertises himself as "the famous Brāhman scientific and pratical Astrologer, 39/10 Chatham street, Colombo".

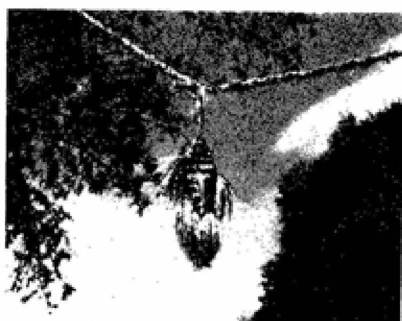


Fig. 3. Ears of ripe paddy plucked and not cut, braided and hung at the shrine of Muttu Karuppaṉ.

plays a similar part to that of a Cakra, a word which means "the discus of Viṣṇu", "engraved 'magic' circles on amulets" etc. *and* "the position of planets at one's birth".[1] There are many Cakras having many different effects. Similarly many constellations (Cakras) have diverse effects. There is no direct connection between happenings on earth and the position of stars and planets. The linear peculiarity[2] of the constellation as envisaged in positive or judiciary astrology[3] corresponds to an instrument in the technical sense of the word. How far speculations about heavenly monsters (Kētu and Rāku, see below) play any real part may be debated on the basis of psychical disposition and cultural attainments, but very clearly man's fate, as determined by the stars, is in India connected with merits and demerits of previous births.[4]

[1] TL s. Cakkaram.

[2] This was said in almost as many words by Mr. B. Raman, editor of the Astrological Magazine, in a reply to some critical words said by Mr. Nehru: "All that is necessary to prove in order to justify astrology is that there is a significant correspondence between *the pattern made by planets as they round the earth* (italicized by me) and the pattern of thinking, feeling and behaviour of individual human beings." (The Mail, Madras, 13/1 1951.)

[3] von Oefele, ERE, vol. XII, 53.

[4] Cp. Ātijātakarakaciyam, preface: "... to know the good and evil, which has been earned in previous births".

Karmakāṇṭam is a medical treatise dealing with diseases caused by sins in an earlier existence and their cure. Unless steps are taken to remove the evil influence, medicine prescribed in the usual way does not help. In the Māntirīka manuals too this matter is dealt with and prescriptions made for Karma Nivirtti (removal of [the evil of] Karma).

It is beyond the scope of this investigation to deal with the history of astrology in India and how other concepts were merged into it. The technical details of calculations also must be left out, except in so far as the understanding of the part astrology plays in daily life makes it necessary to speak about them.[1]

Daily life in South India to-day comes under what is termed 'applied astronomy and astrology'.[2] A day and a night are divided into 60 Nāḻikai beginning at sunrise, which is fixed at 6 A.M. A Nāḻikai will thus consist of 24 minutes. The same period is also divided into 12 Irāci-Ilakkiṉaṅkaḷ[3], which means rising of the signs (Irāci) of the Zodiac. These Ilakkiṉams vary in length. They comprise 4¼ to 5½ Nāḻikai. The time of birth is fixed according to the number of Nāḻikai from sunrise, and the Ilakkiṉam thus arrived at will be the Birth-Ilakkiṉam or Life-Ilakkiṉam. Taking that as a starting point and counting to twelve one gets eleven more Ilakkiṉams with different aspects on life e.g. family, brothers, health, sons, enemies, wife etc.[4] In as much as these Ilakkiṉams are identical with constellations of the Zodiac, calculations on the fate of man with regard to these different aspects can be made

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[1] For more information see Underhill, The Hindu Religious Year. Useful for Tamil readers is Cōtiṭapērakarāti (The Astrologic Dictionary) by Kulalinkam Pillai. An introduction for beginners is Cōtiṭa Ariccuvaṭi by Nittiyananta Cōtiṭar. Some of the material presented here has been taken from the last mentioned book.

The chief work is Thibaut, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik, 1899. More recently von Negeleien wrote on Die ältesten Meister der indischen Astrologie und die Grundidee ihrer Lehrbücher, 1928. Cp. Ginzel, Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, I Band, 310—402. For Astrologie in general see Boll, Sternglaube und Sterndeutung.

Of classical Indian works may be mentioned Varāhamihira, Bṛhat-Saṃhitā and Bṛhaj-Jātaka. The last work is found in the Tamil Sangam Library, Mathurai in Tamil translation, Piruhajjātakam, as nr. H. 92. See further Winternitz Geschichte der i. Literatur vol. III, 555—567 and Macdonell Sanskrit literature 435.

[2] von Oefele, ERE vol. XII, 56.

[3] Skt. Lagna.

[4] They are the 12 loci, for which see Boll, Sternglaube und Sterndeutung, 62—63. Cp. what von Oefele (ERE, vol. 12, 54) calls "designations of the various houses". The Ilakkiṉaṅkaḷ given by the Cōtiṭa Hariccuvaṭi correspond almost completely with the loci of the figure drawn by Boll but differ sometimes in the number of order.

from the position of the nine planets on the occasion. The nine "planets" (Navagrahas) are: Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn in the order of the days of the week.[1] The Tamil language follows the common Indian nomenclature: Ñāyiṟu (Sun), Tiṅkaḷ (Moon), Cevvāy (the red one=Mars), Putaṉ (Buddha), Viyāḻaṉ (Jupiter=Skt. Bṛhaspati and Guru), Veḷḷi, meaning silver and Venus, and Caṉi (Saturnus, Skt. Śani). To these seven are added Rāku and Kētu. Rāku is the ascending node, caput Draconis, Kētu is the descending node, cauda Draconis. These are fictitious planets made up of the ascending and descending nodes of the lunar orbit.[2]

The calculations concern the position of the Navagrahas in the Zodiac. For every month a square (in Tamil called wheel, Cakkaram) is drawn with a suite of four rooms along each side. One thus gets one room for each sign of the Zodiac. In these rooms the Navagrahas are placed according to their apparent position on the celestial sphere month after month. The auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of time is due to the changing positions of the nine 'planets' in the "houses". The planets have different effects in different positions, which are called Naṭpu, Ākṣi, Uccam, Pakai and Nīcam meaning "friendship", "rule", "zenith", "hatred" and "meanness". The latter two positions are naturally inauspicious.

The houses of the Zodiac have effects either for movements (Cararāci) or for stationary actions as employment (Stirarāci). They can also be combined, as Upayarāci. The effect of Aries is Cararāci, that of Taurus Stirarāci, that of Gemini Upayarāci etc.

The word Rāci stands for sign of the Zodiac but has here its original meaning of assemblage. A Rāci in a technical sense of the word is created when the moon remains in a "house", which will be for a length of 2¼ days and will also imply the "dwelling" of 3 of the 27 'stars' (lunar mansions) which form the course of the moon during a month. These 27 'stars' (Nakṣattiraṅkaḷ skt. Nakṣatra) are in their turn effecting three kinds of Yōkam (junction) namely:

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[1] How this order was fixed is explained by Underhill (op. cit. 23—25).

[2] See Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie Grècque, 122 (through the kindness of Mr. W. Norlind). Cp. also ERE, Sun, moon and stars, Introductory (F. von Oefele) and Hindu (A. S. Geden) and Underhill, op. cit. 23 and 33. For Rāku cp. Feer, La légende de Rāhu.

Amirtayōkam, Cittayōkam and Maraṇayōkam,[1] which will be in force on different days of the week. For example the star Acuvaṇi has Cittam on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Saturday, Maraṇam on Wednesday and Amirtam on Thursday and Friday. During Amirtam anything may be undertaken with success; during Maraṇam nothing of importance should be done.

The year is of old mapped out in months and weeks when it is good to celebrate a marriage and when it is bad to do so. The days of the week and the hours of the day are lucky or unlucky.[2] Deeply conscious of this, people are anxious to know details about days and hours as soon as something important is going to take place. They will not look at the sky. Everybody will know about the inauspicious character of certain months. Even the hours of the day are for many people clearly marked. Mr. Osmar Marakal Nair of Karaikal (a Muhammedan) said he would come for a business transaction not at 10 A.M. as I had suggested but at 11, "after Rāku". In order to make sure of the "correct" time, however, most people will consult the astrologers. They will in their turn depend on the printed almanacs, which are published every year and give information on the quality of the year and details for every day concerning lucky and unlucky hours based on the sort of calculations indicated above. It is not easy to read the almanacs — they are called Pañcāṅkam — and as a rule experts are approached for help.[3]

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[1] Sometimes they are six, Amirta-Citta-Yōkam, Utpāta Yōkam and Pirapalāriṣṭa Yōkam being added. See TL s.v. The common Pañcāṅkam (almanac) however, has only three as above.

[2] Āṉanta Patiṉi, Cutta Tirukkaṇita Pañcāṅkam, Madras 1940, Śrī Vijaya Varuṣa Vākkiya Pañcāṅkam, Ramnad, 1953. See also Stevenson, op. cit. 252 ff. and for Islam Herklots, Qanoon-E-Islam, 27: "In every month there are seven evil days". Cp. also Raghunathji, Lucky and unlucky weekdays.

[3] Skt. Pañcāṅga, comprises five parts, viz. Titi, Vāram, Nakṣattiram, Yōkam and Karaṇam. These parts are components in the calculations made for horoscopes and predictions.

Titi is the lunar day. They are 15 in all and called by number except the last one, which is either Amāvācai (New moon-day) or Paurṇami (Full moon-day). The week (Vāram) days are ruled over by seven of the Navagrahas. The Nakṣattiraṅkaḷ are the 27 lunar mansions (se Underhill, op. cit. 17). Yōkaṅkaḷ are 27 in number like the Nakṣattiraṅkaḷ. Karaṇam is a division of time. They are eleven in number and computed to be equal to the 30 Titis of a lunar month (TL).

Apart from offering tables of figures from which the necessary informations can be had or calculated, the almanacs also supply information under headings of subjectmatter. The days for the religious festivals in the important temples throughout South India are fixed from year to year. The farmer is told when it is profitable for him to buy cattle, plough, apply manure, sow etc. The auspicious times for performing the Saṃskāras are given and similarily for putting on new clothes, going on a journey, digging a well etc. As an example we choose a piece about Vāstupuruṣaṉ[1] or the auspicious time for beginning the building of a house:

"Days and hours (Nāḻikai) when Vāstupuruṣaṉ arises from sleep:[2]

Cittirai the 10:th at 5 (meaning Nāḻikais from sunrise), Vaikāci 21:st at 8, Āṭi 11:th at 2, Āvaṇi 6:th at 1, Aippaci 11:th at 2, Kārttikai 8:th at 11, Tai 12:th at 8, Māci 22:nd at 8. — Beginning to build a house (Kirakārampam) is most beneficial if it takes place within 3¾ Nāḻikai after the time just given, because Vāstupuruṣaṉ rises from sleep during that time. — He takes ¾ Nāḻikai for brushing his teeth, ¾ Nāḻikai for his bath, ¾ for worship, ¾ for his meal and ¾ for Tāmpūlam (chewing betel and areca). If the building begins during the two last Nāḻikai it will result in special prosperity."

Travelling must not take place in a certain direction on certain days. The proverb says: "She travelled on a Friday", which is unlucky for a woman. Rules for directions of travel are connected with the trident (Cūlam) of Śiva. Cūlam means also the supposed position of the trident of Śiva at any given time during the days of the week. Monday and Saturday one must not travel east. One must not go south on Thursdays nor west on Fridays and Sundays. Tuesdays and Wednesdays north is a forbidden direction. If it should be absolutely necessary to travel in the forbidden directions, it can be done without danger, if one chooses the time of sunrise for going north, noon for going east, the time of sunset for going south and midnight for going west.[3]

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[1] For Vāstupuruṣa as the resident and residue, containing the seed of everything and his role in building temples see Kramrisch, The Hindu temple 45 and 359—361. Vāstupuruṣaṉ is here a more concretely conceived being. Cp. Varāhamihira L III:3.

[2] For the year Vijaya = 1953—54.

[3] Cōtiṭa Ariccuvaṭi, 23—24. Cp. Carva Pirayāṇa Cakuṇa Cāstiram. A distinction is made between official travelling which is allowed on any day

There is still another obstacle to free travelling called Yōkiṉi, "Durga who, on each Titi on the waning and waxing moon, appears in a particular direction and causes harm to those who start their journey in that direction" (TL s.v.). The details are given in the Pañcāṅkam as follows:

	Bright half of the month	Dark half of the month
1	east	west
2	north	northwest
3	southeast	northeast
4	southwest	sky(ward)
5	south	earth (ward)
6	west	east
7	northwest	north
8	northeast	southeast
9	sky (ward)	southwest
10	earth (ward)	south
11	east	west
12	north	northwest
13	southeast	northeast
14	southwest	sky (ward)
Full moon south		New moon earth (ward)

One must not move in these directions or in the directions to the left of them. But if one goes in the opposite direction or in the direction to their right, there will be success in everything.

A wedding is never[1] celebrated without careful calculation of the auspicious day and hour. The ceremonies last for days, and for them there is the choice of month and the bright half of the month. The all-important ceremony comes when the Tāli (the marriage symbol worn on a yellow string around the neck by all married women), is tied on. The auspicious hour for this act is indicated on a wedding invitation with the word Mukūrttam.[2] Very often it is a very

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and private travelling with certain ends in view, e.g. choosing a bride, which must be undertaken acc. to the rules of the almanac.

[1] The custom prevails in all communities with rare exceptions. Christians have largely given up the reference to an auspicious hour, but the day and the month are still chosen with some care. Rev. N. Samuel upbraids his flock for it in a well-known little book, Uḷḷatu Nāṟpatu.

[2] Skt. Muhūrta, meaning any short period of time. In Tamil it means the period of 3 3/4 Nāḻikai and then, in common use, auspicious hour. — In the Vedas = 1/30 of 24 hours (Ginzel, Handbuch der Chronologie, I, 313.

inconvenient time, e.g. 4,30—6 A.M., but the ceremony must take place at that hour without fail.

A successful marriage must be based on favourable agreement between the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom.[1] There are ten such Poruttaṅkaḷ (agreements) deemed necessary. They are all found in the Pañcāṅkam.

1. *The day* (*Tiṉam*). Counting from the "star" of the woman (i.e. the Nakṣatra under which she was born) to the "star" of the man one must divide the figure by 9. If the rest is 2, 4, 6, 8, 9 (sic!) there is agreement of day. If the woman's Nakṣatra is number 14 and the man was born under number 25, the remainder after division is 2. If the Nakṣatras of the two parties happen to be the same, it is good except in certain cases etc.
2. *Kaṇam* (*group*). The Nakṣatras are divided into three Kaṇas, viz. of gods, of men and demons (Deva, Manuṣya and Rākṣasa. There is favourable agreement if both the Nakṣatras are in the same Kaṇam or in the Kaṇas of gods and men.
3. *Makēntiram*. Agreement in this is reached, when one of the figures 4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 25 is arrived at, counted from the Nakṣatra of the woman to that of the man.
4. *Stirī Tīrkkam* (length=longevity of the woman). If the Nakṣatra of the man is 9 more than that of the woman, there is Stirī Tīrkkam. If it is 13 more, there will be particular Tīrkkam.
5. *Yōṉi*. Each Nakṣatra has a particular Yōṉi called by the name of an animal. The Acuvaṉi Nakṣatra has a horse, the Paraṇi Nakṣatra an elephant, the Kārttikai a sheep, the Rōkaṇi a snake, the Mirukacīriṭam a ratsnake, the Tiruvātirai a male dog etc. If the Nakṣatras of the woman and the man are both having the same Yōṉi, it is the best. They may be different but they must not be hostile or both male.
6. *Rāci*. There is favourable agreement if the man's Rāci exceeds that of the woman by six.
7. *Rāciyātipati*. The Navagrahas increased to ten by adding Kuḷikaṉ, an invisible planet or a divine serpent, one of the 8 Mā-Nākas[2], are as lords of the signs of the Zodiac (Rāciyātipati) having various effects according to their residence in different "houses". Their effect is friendliness[3] when they are in conjunction with certain planets and hatred when in conjunction with others. There is also a balanced effect (Camam). Information about these effects (Palaṉ) is given in separate tables in the Pañcāṅkam. When the Rāciyātipatis of the woman and the man are one and the same or when they are in friendly conjunction, the conditions are very good, They are medium when there is a balanced conjunction.

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[1] Matrimonial advertisements in the daily newspapers usually end up with a request for a reply with horoscope.

[2] TL s.v.

[3] See above 201.

8. *Vaciyam* is a relationship between the signs of the Zodiac. The word means possession and may have that meaning here so as to indicate that Leo and Scorpio are in the possession of Aries, Cancer and Libra in the possession of Taurus etc. If the man's sign is in the possession of the woman's sign, there is agreement in Vaciyam.
9. *Vētai* means contact on a particular day of a Nakṣatra with its preceeding Nakṣatra.[1] There is agreement of Vētai when the man's Nakṣatra and the woman's Nakṣatra are without such contact.
10. *Irajju* refers to the relationship between the Nakṣatras, the names of which are written on a form of lines, some horizontal some perpendicular. The Nakṣatras of the man and woman must not be on the same horizontal line.

Three regular events in man's life take place without giving him a choice of time namely: birth, attainment of puberty and death. It is true enough that people do try to have even these things in their own time. One reason for not celebrating marriages in the month of Āṭi (July—August) is a desire to avoid childbirth in an unlucky month.[2] A truly successful man will die when the sun is in the Uttarāyaṇa course. So people think[3], but they like to know what life has in store for them. The word Jātaka[4] has the double meaning of birth and horoscope even in Tamil, although the first use is rare. The higher castes[5] invariably have their horoscopes drawn up, and a horoscope serves as certificate. A man's chances of success in life are determined after the Ilakkiṉam has been fixed as mentioned above.[6]

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[1] TL s.v.

[2] A certain control of the time of birth is aimed at through the ceremonial entry of the lying-in-chamber (Cūtikākkirakappiravēcam), which should take place on certain weekdays (avoiding Sunday and Tuesday) on certain Titis etc.

[3] Cp. Crooke, Folklore 43, where also some remedies for an "untimely death are related". If a man dies on a Saturday another death is likely to occur in the family and to avert this danger a living animal, a ram, goat or fowl is sacrificed at the funeral. This concerns the Madras state. An instance from Virudhunagar, Ramnad district, may be mentioned. When a Christian child was buried in 1945 the father threw a chicken into the open grave just before it was being filled. People explained his action by saying: "The corpse will seek a friend" (Piṇam Tuṇai Tēṭum).

[4] TL s.v. See further Jacobi: Divination in ERE vol. 4, 800.

[5] "There is not a single Hindu or Buddhist who has not a horoscope", Sabaratna Mudaliyar, Essentials of Hinduism, 244. Even lower castes have it. See Crooke, op. cit. 42.

[6] See above 200.

Some examples may illustrate the conditions men may expect according to the position of the Navagrahas.

1. Those who are born when the Sun is in the state of Uccam in the Aries will be bold in mind, clever and grow in knowledge and have qualities for employment. They will have an inclination for trade and obtain much wealth. If Jupiter is in the Leo facing the Sun while in the Aries, they will become men of peaceful mind without anger.[1]

2. If, while the Sun is in the Pisces and Jupiter is ruling with the Sun, Venus is in the state of Uccam, he (The Jātakaṉ=he for whom the horoscope is being written) will acquire much wealth and become a rich man. But if Saturn, Rāku and Kētu see the Sun while in the Pisces, he will suffer from many difficulties, hardships and troubles.[2]

3. If the Sun, Saturn and Venus are with Rāku in the Sagittarius, anxiety, difficulty and sorrow and endless trouble will ever increase to the Jātakaṉ and he will roam about in poverty and want every day. But if Jupiter and Mercury are with Rāku in the Sagittarius, he will be prosperous and famous and acquire wealth in money and have wisdom and knowledge and obtain excellence in science.[3]

Here is also an example of the influence of the Nakṣatras. The conditions of those who are born under the Āyiliyam Nakṣatra are these: They will listen with kindness to the words of strangers. They will have no thoughts of fraud. They will not fear opponents. They will have the courageous strength to gain victory over enemies. They will trust their parents. They will be inclined to go into the forest and make their dwelling in the woods.[4]

The first menstruation of a girl is also a matter for careful calculation of the portent of the moment when it occurs. The term most frequently used is Irutu, Skt. Ṛtu. In Tamil usage it means a) a season of two months and b) menstruation. A ceremony is celebrated called Irutucānti, which means the propitiation of the Irutu.[5] It refers, however, not only to the inauspicious time for the coming of age but to the fact as such.

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[1] Cōtiṭa Ariccuvaṭi, 120.
[2] Ibm. 132.
[3] Ibm. 205.
[4] Ibm. 107.
[5] See above 185.

The title of No H 90 in the Tamil Sangam library runs: "Influence for good or bad of stars, weekdays, lunar days and months on which the menstruation of women took place and ritual for its propitiation" An example will illustrate its contents: "If menstruation (for the first time) takes place in the month of Cittirai, it is bad for the husband (Puruṣaṉukkākātu). He will have many kinds of trouble". We shall be reminded of the second part of the book later when dealing with the Kirakacānti (propitiation of the planets) in general.[1]

For obvious reasons death does not appear in the picture of the horoscope, but one book of 78 pages, printed in Madras 1935 and called Maraṇakaṇṭacāstiram fortells death according to the influence of the Uttira Nakṣatra in the following way: "The critical period (Kaṇṭam)[2] is in the 3:rd year through fire, in the 5:th through smallpox, in the 7:th through water, in the 14:th through animals, in the 19:th through medicine (!), in the 24:th through poison, in the 32:nd through weapon, in the 45:th through falling from a high place, in the 55:th through convulsion, in the 65:th through heat, in the 79:th through poison. — If he passes these, he will die in his 86:th year from oversecretion of bile. If he passes this also he will die in his 96:th year in the month of Vaikāci on a Friday in the first half of the lunar month (Pūrva Pakṣam) on the tenth after Uttiram has risen in the seventh Nāḻikai from excessive secretion of bile or from poison (!)".

This is strictly speaking a mere application of the horoscope. Death as such is an inauspicious event, but it is less so when it takes place in the Uttarāyaṇam and if a man breathes his last at Banaras.

One might say that the year itself is an event beyond the control of man. He can only read what is written in the stars about the conditions he will have to live under during the coming year. The Pañcāṅkam will tell him for the year

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[1] See below 295.

[2] Skt. Gaṇḍa, one of the 27 Yōkaṅkaḷ or conjunctions corresponding to the 27 Nakṣatras. Gaṇḍa corresponds to the Nakṣatra Makam=Maghā. A secondary meaning is "critical period calamitous or other adverse effect of the malignity of planets ruling the destinies of a person according to his horoscope" TL.

Vijaya that
the king is the moon
the minister is the moon
the general is the sun
the lord of vegetable produce is Jupiter
„ „ of the crops is Mars
„ „ over riches is the sun
„ „ who determines the rainfall is the sun
„ „ over fruits and vegetables is Saturn
„ „ over minerals and metals is Jupiter
„ „ of the horses is the moon
„ „ of the elephants is the moon
„ „ of the cows is the sun
„ „ over progeny is Jupiter
„ „ of the camels is Mars
„ „ of the birds is the sun
„ „ of the trees is the sun
„ „ of the snakes is Saturn
„ „ of the houses is Jupiter.

The result of the various lords holding their different offices is explicitly stated. The moon as king will bring rich crops to all fields. Kings will have special luck. Crops will increase and people delight in holding festivals. As minister, the moon will effect the same prosperity. The sun as general, will create much anger and fear to people. Rain will be scanty, but millet and other red crops will yield well.

The result of the movement of Saturn is summed up as follows: From the beginning of the year to the 31: st Āvaṇi (August—September) Saturn is residing in the sign of Virgo. The result of it is that horses and cows will increase. Grain prices will be high. Kings will be wealthy. Vegetables will be a loss. — From the first of Puraṭṭāci till the end of the year Saturn will reside in the sign of Libra, as a result of which rains will be heavy, crops rich and people healthy. There will be damage to vermillion, saffron-flower and saffron. Those who plant will suffer loss.

If it is not foreseen, anything of importance that is going to take place in man's life can turn out to be dangerous or bring bad luck. Marriages, Saṃskāras, festivals, farmwork, trade, travelling are potential crises, which are being averted through careful calculation of the movement of the stars. Astrology is the means by which such crises are avoided. When the crisis is already

there hitting men as misfortune, poverty, disease, loss, sorrow etc. astrology can not give help in making good the loss or removing the difficulty. It can only show the way to the remedy by finding out the cause. An astrologer does not as a rule perform the Kirakacānti (propitiation of the planets) ceremonies. They may be given in the astrological handbooks, but it will be the individual himself who effects the remedy through temple rituals or Māntirīkam with the help of a Paṭṭar or Mantiravāti.

The aspect of instrument and purpose holds good for astrology. As already said, it is significant that the "square" of the Zodiac is called Cakkaram, because a similar design is used as an instrument in the Māntirīkam practice, whereby its character of instrument is clearly demonstrated. The word Yantra, which is practically synonymous with the word Cakra, occurs in the astrological calculations as e.g. in the "agreements" of the horoscopes for bride and bridegroom (Makēntiram=Makā Entiram, i.e. Yantra). The word Maṇḍala also is found in astrology as well as in Māntirīkam referring in both cases to linear squares of significance for the result.

The Cakra is effecting a result in astrology as well as in Māntirīkam. The difference lies in the matter of the "agens". In Māntirīkam man draws the Cakra (but according to a rigidly fixed pattern). It is an open question whether in common belief God, the gods, demons or powers move the stars or if they are powerful in themselves. Some light is thrown on the question in a passage in Cōtiṭa Ariccuvaṭi. The book is arranged as an instruction from a Guru to his disciple through questions and answers. The disciple is very pleased with all the answers he gets, but on one occasion a note of bewilderment is struck in his mind and he begins to argue with the teacher: "The Navagrahas are indeed gods are'nt they? How is it then that even when they come to their own "house" they give good things to some and cause evil to some? What is the reason?"

The Guru answers: "They are gods indeed, all the nine of them, but they are authorities for giving the good and evil fruits to living beings according to their sins and merits. Therefore they will give result according to the Rāci of the Jātakaṉ only, even if they are in their own "house"."

In as much as the position of the stars is equal to omens, the conclusion would be that constellations are instruments for knowledge only, not actual causes. It is not possible, however, to draw

a clear line between a portent and a cause. The shadow of a bird fell on the child in the evening and it became ill.[1] There is a connection between the two events. It is for the inquisitive or reflective mind to analyse the fact into factors. The immediate reaction is evident from the use of the word Palaṉ (=fruit, result). The astrology states: "The result of Mars being in the Gemini etc." Semantic considerations might lead to a conception of natural sequence, a produce of the circumstances, of which the omen is a part or a determining factor. The omens have fruits.

People's reaction will also be understood from the propitiatory ceremonies, which will of course deal with the "real "(i.e. what people think are the real) causes. — The influence of the planets can be averted or mitigated. Many such rites find a place in the chapter on Māntirīkam. Here it is of interest to refer for comparison to the Bṛhat-Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira.[2]

The influence of the stars is not only malignant, we shall see below how their good effects are controlled and made use of.[3]

2. Marks, Omens and Divination

But before we take up the remedies we shall look into some other means of knowing the future or the causes for the present state of affairs.[4] As a rule only accidents and misfortune call for explanation, although a man's luck also has its causes, which can be found out through "signs".

Not only stars provide the instrument for acquiring such knowledge but also omens of many kinds. They find a place in books on astrology as well as in the almanacs. The Vijaya Varuṣa Vākkiya Pañcāṅkam (the almanac for 1953) has a portion about the result of the lizard's chirping for each day in the week and for the different directions from which it is heard. There is a portion about sneezing, which is related to the time of the day with different consequences etc. Already Varāhamihira says that an astrologer must know many things, and he divides his knowledge into Mathematical

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[1] Paṭci Toṣam see below 216 note 2.

[2] Varāhamihira XLVI, 5—6. See below 299.

[3] Below 320. See also above 184, note 2.

[4] "... the skilled soothsayer may reveal the past and the future", Varāhamihira, LXVIII, 1. Cp. above 59 note 1.

astronomy, Natural astrology and Horoscopy.[1] It is the Natural astrology we now have to deal with, where we learn about signs and omens. The distinction presents itself rather obviously, although Varāhamihira does not draw the line clearly. The books and booklets of the Tamil Sangam library fall into the same two groups, namely marks and events. A third group will be the arranged signs which we shall treat under divination and fortune-telling.[2]

a) *Marks.*

From marks one can judge the character and qualities of men and animals.

By far the most important knowledge both to judge from the length of the chapters and the practice to-day, is the understanding of marks and signs of men and women. No part of the body is left out of description. A few examples from Varāhamihira may serve as illustration. "Poor men have very lean and long chins; rich men have them fleshy. Kings have lips (in colour) like the fruit of Bimba[3] and not crooked; penniless people have them thin."[4] People with low foreheads will meet with capital punishment and bonds, and delight in cruel acts. Kings have high foreheads and misers will have them narrow.[5] "Any limb being coarse, lean and covered with veins, is pronounced ill-favoured; in the contrary case entirely auspicious."[6]

"A swelling lip, hued like the blossom of Pentapetes or the brilliant Bimba fruit, and equal teeth, white as Jessamine buds, are such qualities in wives as will be conducive to the husband's joy and immense advantage".[7] If this seemingly builds on natural inclination, the following can hardly have any direct connection with the things foreboded. "A short neck with a woman announces

[1] Varāhamihira, I:9.

[2] Thurston has collected some material under the title: "Omens and Superstitions of Southern India", London 1912. — See particularly pp. 13—73. For a brief analysis, however, examples from the author's own notes in comparison with the "classic" Varāhamihira, seem to suffice. Thurston does not attempt any classification of the "signs".

[3] Momordica monadelpha.

[4] Varāhamihira, LXVIII, 51.

[5] Varāhamihira, LXVIII, 72.

[6] Varāhamihira, LXVIII, 83.

[7] Varāhamihira, LXX, 6.

poverty; a long one, the ruin of the family: a broad and prominent one, malignancy."[1] These sample quotations are appropriate, because this "science" is in practical use. Five books in the Tamil Sangam library deal with the interpretation of moles and marks on the body, Cāmuttirikam,[2] Nos 62—66. Ekamparar from Ginji and others are noted as authors. They are all printed after 1920. Some references to signs of men and women, particularily the latter sex, are in public evidence. Matrimonial advertisements usually contain, apart from the invariable reference to horoscope, a statement about complexion. A fair complexion is considered a noteworthy asset. This might easily be mistaken for a reaction to racial discrimination, but Varāhamihira has a different explanation which may lurk in the back of people's minds. "A complexion derived from the element of wind will be smutty, coarse, black and of bad odour; it engenders death, captivity, sickness, misery and loss of wealth. A complexion arising from the aerial element shows like crystal, is bright, very noble, allied with good fortune, and a treasury, so to say, of felicity."[3] The Tamil Sangam has also a book on the art of observing the breathing, which is not in Varāhamihira. In a book of 144 pages bound together with No 59 in the Tamil Sangam library we are told of the Caram (Skt. Cara). It consists of Kalai, Vāci, Cuvācam, Mūccu, Pirāṇan̲ and Āttumā. "Therefore you must first of all know the Cuvācam or wind which comes through your nose." The air of the right nostril is called the Kalai of the sun and is male-Caram. The air of the left nostril is called the moon-Kalai and is female-Caram. The six words refer to six different kinds of breathing and their significance.

Palmistry is not exactly of the same kind because it does not tell of what use the hand of the person is, but his fate. A book (Hasta Rēkai Cāstiram) printed 1928 in Madras, says that one can

[1] Varāhamihira, LXX, 18. Tiru Ālavāy, chapter 16 gives the 32 qualities (Ilakkaṇaṅkaḷ) of a woman as they should be in a state of perfection with reference to Kāntimati, the bride of the Pāṇṭiya prince. A few examples may be quoted: "A head that is round like the protuberance on the temples of an elephant and high shows long life to her husband and a state of suzerainty". "A forehead like the crescent moon, without any impressions, three inches broad and shining without hair or veins announces happiness and a healthy body".

[2] See above 59.

[3] Varāhamihira LXVIII:93.

know the "fruits" (Palaṉ) beforehand and seek remedies for Vipattu, a word which means both danger and misfortune, but it adds that one can obtain wealth and (good) position (Antastai) through the grace of Īcuvaraṉ. There are several books on palmistry in the Tamil Sangam library.

Signs of animals are much observed. The signs of animals will tell of what use they will be to their owners. Varāhamihira gives the signs of cows, dogs, cocks, tortoises, horses, elephants, goats etc. Such signs are much observed. A leaflet on the marks of cattle was published by the Govt. Press, Madras, in the thirties as guide to purchasers. This is an example from Varāhamihira: "I will tell the lucky and evil signs of goats. Such as have eight, nine or ten teeth, are lucky, and may be kept; such as have seven teeth, should be removed."[1] "A black circle on the right side of a white goat is a favourable mark, likewise a white circle on the right side of one having the colour of an elk, of sable hue, or red."[2]

Everything may have signs, the ground on which buildings are to be erected, houses, diamonds, boils. In architecture the signs are the results of planning and calculation. But in all cases the quality of the thing is evident through the signs. The sign says if it is useful or harmful, if it brings luck or ill-luck, and that through a conventional association which to the mind of the present day public has merely the function of connecting the enterprise with a third factor as an indicator or as a controlling element.

On the border to omens are the signs that are good to see in the morning. The same book contains a list of such things as are good to look at the first thing when one is just awake. They are lotus flower, gold, lamp, mirror, sun, fire without smoke, red sanders, sea, field, Śivaliṅga, a mountain surrounded by clouds, a cow with its calf, one's own right hand, wife, drum. Things one should not see are, among many others, a limbless person, somebody without clothes, anything sinful.

b. *Omens*

Events are foreboding good or evil. Whereas one can study marks carefully and select or refuse according to their significance, omens

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[1] Varāhamihira LXV, 1.

[2] Varāhamihira LXV, 2.

are events or happenings which are uncalled for and force man to be on his guard.

Varāhamihira begins his teaching on augury in chapter 86 with general rules on the interpretation of events. Reference will have to be made to time and direction and then to gait, place, sentiment, voice and gestures. They are qualified according to the position of the sun as "coaled, combust (Kern's translation of Skt. Dīpta) and vapory", while the other quarters are calm.[1] Then follow chapters such as The cry of birds, About dogs, The cries of jackals, Movements of wild beasts, Movements of cattle, Movements of horses, Movements of elephants, The cries of crows etc.

A few examples: "By crows assembled without cause, in the middle of the village, and croaking, is predicted danger of famine; by the same forming a circle, a siege, by standing in separate groups, a calamity."[2] "If a crow cries, looking at the eastern quarter, this being calm, one will obtain the friendship of a king's officer, gold, rice, cooked rice and sugared food."[3] Tamil Sangam library H No 109 contains the same material with Tamil translation. It is called (Skt.) Śakunapalanirṇayaḥ. (Deciding the result of signs.[4]) It also has the important information that the sign can only be taught, not remedied.

One important thing is missing in Varāhamihira and that is the interpretation of the chirping of lizards. This is very carefully observed in South India, various results expected according to the direction from which it is coming. On Sunday it means good things if coming from the east and the south-east, quarrel if coming from the south, affliction if coming from the south-west, health if coming from the west, gain if coming from the north-west, the arrival of neighbours if coming from the north, increase in property if coming from the north-east etc. etc.[5]

A sign is an instrument in the technical sense. We think, for example, of a family becoming ruined... The astrologer explains

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[1] Varāhamihira LXXXVI, 12 (LXXXV, 12 in the Sanskrit text).

[2] Varāhamihira XCV, 8.

[3] Varāhamihira XCV, 20.

[4] Śakuna has as its first meaning bird (Apte).

[5] Pañcāṅkam 1953. Varattu Palli, from the root Vā=come and Palli, lizard, is a word used of a lizard which indicates by its chirping the arrival of a guest, TL.

the reason: "The woman has a long neck. He was not consulted at the wedding or he would have known beforehand". The long neck was thus a means by which he could have known the result. But surely it is more than that. As long as the long necked woman is there, misfortune continues. The exceptional bodily feature of the woman is the cause — in an indirect way. Nobody will try to establish a direct connection between the long neck and the misfortune as e.g. between an underdeveloped body and a miscarriage.

It is the same with omens. A city is besieged and destroyed. It is later reported that a wild animal came to the gate the day before and even entered the city. An astrologer would have understood the omen. It was the omen that gave success to the arms of the enemy. Their destructive power was the tool used by the power that manifested itself in the omen. If the omen had been known in time, the city might have been saved but not through intensive fortification but through appeasing the omen, which is possible in some cases, in others not.[1]

This is borne out by the conception of Tōṣam (Skt. Doṣa), which means the foreboding, the malign influence and the effect. Paṭci Tōṣam means "a disease of children believed to be caused by the shadow of a bird falling on it in the evening" TL.[2] When it happens the evil is foreboded. When the disease is there, one speaks no longer of omen but of cause.

One book speaks of no less than 448 kinds of Tōṣam.[3] The Apitāṉa Cintāmaṇi gives nine kinds of Tōṣam, threatening children. They are

1. Nāy-Muḷ Tōṣam, "a disease of children produced by the famished conditions, grief etc. of the mother during pregnancy". It appears as nettle-rash (Nāy-muḷ), pain in the legs etc.

2. Saliva-Tōṣam. It appears as giddiness, fever, dysentery etc.

3. Kuḷica-Tōṣam, which comes to a child that happens to come

[1] Varāhamihira XLVI, 5—6.

[2] The Tōṣam occurs at four different times; morning twilight, noon, evening twilight and midnight and has its cause in four kinds of birds; male, female, hermaphrodite and barren and again in five kinds, namely: birds from paddyfields, water birds, sleeping birds (birds causing sleeping sickness, TL), unspecified birds and birds not seen. AC sub Pakṣitōsam. Cp. Sandegren, Sydindiens Rövarekaster 116, where eleven kinds of Paṭci-Tōṣam alone have been recorded.

[3] "Sarvadevada Vasyam", 48.

near, when an amulet (Kuḷicam) is being tied on to a woman, who wants offspring. It appears as fits, sunken eyes etc.

4. The Tōṣam of a woman in her menses. It appears as weariness, secretion in the eye etc.

5. The Tōṣam arising from touching a man in sexual union (Caiyōkapuruṣaparicatōṣam). It appears as hollow eyes, itching all over the body, crying with a hissing sound etc.

6. The Tōṣam arising from touching a woman in sexual union. It appears as shrunk breast, paleness, refusal to drink milk. etc.

7. The bee (Aḷi)-Tōṣam appears as bad odour of the body etc.

8. Kuḷi-Tōṣam, "malignant influence on a infant of being looked at by a woman with an empty stomach on her bath after menstruation" TL.[1] It appears as vomiting milk, falling upside down (Ucci Paḷḷam) etc.

9. The frog-Tōṣam, "a wasting disease of children believed to be caused by a toad's leaping on the mother during her pregnancy", TL (AC says it is caused by a frog falling on a child and squirting). It appears as shrunk hands and feet.

Strangely Paṭci Tōṣam is not in the list, but AC. has it elsewhere. It is a name of a disease, but there are no reasons why the same symptoms should not be diagnosed as another disease as well. It is taken as a particular disease, because the cause has a dominant influence over the conception of the disease. Other omens and portents could just as easily give name at a disease or misfortune. There are signs of it. "She travelled on a Friday" is a description of a woman's misfortune, perhaps more vaguely diagnosed than diseases but on principle the same thing. The misfortune of having no children is Carppa Tōṣam (Serpent-evil) a misfortune named after its cause and not after its character. Suppose a man were to kill a snake. It was a bad omen, people would say. His son is not getting any children, and an astrologer tells him of the cause: "His father killed a snake." He (the son) is suffering from Carppa Tōṣam", is the verdict of people in his time.

The sign, both mark and omen, is thus an instrument both of obtaining knowledge and causing effects. A sign is an indication

[1] TL refers to a book called Pālavākaṭatiraṭṭu, Madras 1908, "a collection of medical treatises of children's diseases". Pālavākaṭa (Skt. Vāgbhaṭa) would indicate that they go back to the famous physician with that name living in the 7:th century. See Müller, Grundlagen, 28.

and not the thing itself, Skt. Lakṣaṇa, according to Apte=what is being indicated, Lakṣyate. When it nevertheless becomes a cause, it is an indirect cause.

Two kinds of Tōṣam are more common than those mentioned above, Cala Tōṣam and Kirakatōṣam. The first word means 'cold' simply, but originally it must have had reference to water (Calam) which in certain circumstances caused disease.

Kiraka Tōṣam, the malign influence of the planets is the commonest of all Tōṣaṅkaḷ. It is a common denominator for all the calamities caused by the malignant influence of the planets, of which we have already spoken.[1]

There is no reference to the medicinal doctrine of Tridoṣa, i.e. wind, gall and phlegm.[2]

c. *Divination*

When signs, marks and omens fail, there is a third possibility of knowing the future or the cause of a calamity. Signs can be arranged. The fundamental issue here is the third element or the additional factor, the indirect approach. Man has no direct contact with the object he wants to know. His organs of senses fail him, just as much as his power of reasoning is insufficient to decide which of two things or courses is good and advantageous. He lets his own decision go and invites a third factor to play the card. This is literally true in many cases. On the pavements of Mathurai near the railway station and around the big temple, half a dozen people will always be at hand to give him the answer by letting a tame parrot pick up a card lying face down among twenty others. The card has a number on the right side, and the fortune-teller refers to a book of his to find the answer against the number given. — Here belongs the "science" of Ārūṭam, as briefly explained above p. 60.

A woman wanted to know if a sum of money was to be paid to her or not. She went to the Tuṇai Māriyammaṉ shrine on the Tamil Sangam Road, Mathurai. The Pūcāri waved flowers of different colours wrapped in pieces of paper in front of the goddess and dropped them on the ground. The woman took one. A white flower meant a good answer. (1953). Red and white flowers are used in the

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[1] Above 198 ff.

[2] Müller, Grundlagen 63 ff.



Fig. 4. An ascetic sitting outside the High Court building, Madras.

Mīṉākṣi temple also to find out the right course, e.g. if a wedding should be held this year or next year. In a village 8 miles north of Mathurai a woman ascetic with her young disciple, a girl of ten years of age, were answering questions to the women of the village. She had some shells and got the key to her replies by throwing them like a dice in front of her. A woman similarly sought the help of Moṭṭai Nātaṉ or Muṉīcuvaraṉ outside the north tower of the Mīṉākṣi temple. She handed the Pūcāri two small paper parcels. He performed Pūcai and lifted them over his head and dropped them on the floor in front of the idol. The woman picked up one and gave it to the Pūcāri, who opened it. It contained a flower. If it was white the answer was good, if red the answer was bad. (1952)

The decision is left to the divine will. One aspect on these methods leaves room for a personal subordination under the divine will, but there is a method of knowing it, which works surely and accurately through instruments. Some method must perforce be chosen to

give the deity a means of communication, since man in his need anyhow must force the issue. On the other hand the divinity may be treated as useful for this very purpose, whereby it is reduced to an instrument itself.

Fortunetellers who through various means arrange for a sign, i.e. a reply or guidance through an indirect method, are found in many places. They can be seen sitting ready to serve on the pavements of big cities in South India like Madras, Mathurai, Bangalore and Coimbatore. Sometimes they read the almanac (Pañcāṅkam) to guide people, sometimes they make use of an outside influence like a bird or a sort of roulette. A man sitting outside — we must take note of the fact that they are never inside the temples — the southern tower of the Mīṉākṣi temple had a brass wheel with numbers and knobs. When turned round, it stopped under a bell attached to a small whip carried by Āñcaṉēiyar (Hanuman). The number stopping under the bell will be the reference number. In this case the outside power is taken to originate in a god. The instrumental character remains, because the answer is forced. The god can not remain silent.

These people often have a standing as ascetics or otherwise as pious men and women. Outside the High Court, Madras, a Sādhu was sitting under a big tree. He wore a necklace of Tulasī nuts and a Rudrākṣa and sat on a skin and had peacock feathers, a spear, and a picture of Murukaṉ. Thus equipped he explained the Pañcāṅkam to inquirers.

The kind of books they use for reference are indicated above under Ārūṭam.[1] A literature of the same kind is called Toṭukuṟi-cāstiram, the "science" of touching a mark. Its method is given above on page 60. There are at least three such books in the Tamil Sangam library. Sometimes numbers are arranged in squares, and it is merely a question of touching one. Usually a child has to do it. Sometimes the numbers are more elaborately arranged in groups connected with the Navagrahas in different patterns. The answer is found under the name of the planet, as for example "if you touch the sun in the wheel for Sunday daytime, the office you now work in will not give you any gain, it will take long time before you get back the property you have lost and disease and madness will increase in your body."

[1] Above 60 ff.

When people want to know secrets which they can not discover by means of their own ordinary faculties, they most preferably turn to persons who are inspired or possessed by a god or a spirit.[1] They are of different standing, from those who are really considered to embody a god to soothsayers and diviners offering their services for a small fee in the market place. They are very common. A village is rarely found where there is no such person or where he is not within easy reach, when needed. The persons in question are usually called by one of the following names:

Cāmiyāṭi	Kuṟikāraṉ
Kōṭaṅki	Kuṭukuṭupāṇṭi
Kaṭṭāṭi	Nimittakkāraṉ
Maruḷāḷi	Caṉṉatakkāraṉ.

Cāmiyāṭi means a "god-dancer" (not a "devil-dancer" as TL says).[2] He is respected and held in esteem for the god's choice in making him his vehicle or tool.

The word Cāmiyāṭi presents a plain explanation of the "possession": a god dances. Cāmi (Skt. Svāmin) is used in addressing a god but also more generally as a word of respect, much like the English 'Lord' and 'mylord'. In the act of "possession", the foreign power that people think has the person in its grip, is reverentially addressed with a term that applies to any superior being, but a distinction is made between god and demon (Pēy) which will be dealt with more fully below.[3] In the latter case reverence gives place to words of abuse and scolding.

Caṉṉatakāraṉ "acts as soothsayer under inspiration of a deity" (TL). The word means 'one who causes to be present' (Skt. Sannidhi=juxtapposition, presence, Apte). One may compare the expression Ammaṉ Caṉṉiti, which means the presence i.e. the corridor in front of the shrine of the goddess in temples.

Kaṭṭāti is "one who is temporarily possessed ... for the purpose of uttering oracles" (TL). It is a genuine Tamil word and the lexicon declares it to imply a practice inferior to the activity of a Cāmiyāṭi or a Caṉṉatakāraṉ, to which words the Sanskrit language has contributed most of the components.

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[1] See above 177, note 2.
[2] Cp. above 177.
[3] See below 279, note 3.

The word Kōṭaṅki is also Tamil and suffers under the same judgement, but as will be shown below the usage is not consistent. The word means also a small drum, which is the indispensible equipment of a certain type of soothsayers.

For Maruḷāḷi see below 224.

The Kuṭukuṭupāṇṭi is "a professional beggar who goes about rattling a tambourine and telling fortunes" (TL).

Kuṟikāraṉ or in pure Tamil Kuṟicolvōṉ and Nimittakkāraṉ will as their names indicate observe signs and omens. Kuṟi and Nimittam both mean sign or mark. The word Nimittam means also cause and ground, which is significant. The sign and the cause are often merged into one. From an indirect information and warning there is only a short step to an indirect effect. The sign becomes a cause not in itself but through its significance.

Dancing is the sign of the presence of the god but also a means of calling him.[1] When the time comes for the "possession" to take place — and that may refer to the moment during the Māci festival when the chief Pūcāri is going to call the ancestors of the Kaḷḷars as well as to the arranged seance for the purpose of answering questions — the drums are being beaten with increasing rapidity. The Cāmiyāṭi moves around by small hopping steps in a quick tempo. With the increasing tempo his movements become more jerky and shaky. This may go on for a while and means that he is letting himself in for a "descendence" of the god. He uses this means when a "possession" is required, but the ecstasy may spread and persons who were not intent on taking part in the seance are caught by the urging music and whirl around with frenzy. This proves that the god is approaching. The dancing is a sign as well as an instrument.

Then there comes a moment when the god actually takes him in his grip. A sudden change takes place. His body becomes stiff and he would have fallen if people did not support him, his eyes have a fixed stare, and suddenly he becomes violent and several persons must hold him.[2] He soon calms down, and now people will ask him questions. This is the case of a real "god-dancer".

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[1] Sandegren mentions a case when the Pūcāri had smoked hemp to reach the stage of ecstasy (Om Sydindiens rövarekaster, 127).

[2] Thus it happened to the Kaḷḷar Pūcāri at the shrine of Kurumpaiyaṉ, Karumattur, Mathurai district in 1937. Cp. Sandegren, op. cit. 128.



Fig. 5. Kāvaṭi, "a decorated pole with an arch over it".

Many Kōṭaṅkis, who are in principle "god-dancers" they also, will show less violent signs of possession, but there will always be some change in the dancing to show that the god has seized them.

This is in plain words what people see happening, and their explanation is obvious: A god has descended on him". Through this human medium the god is approachable for advice.[1]

The state of "possession" can last for hours as in the case of a man in the grip of Murukaṉ, the mountain god, whom I saw just outside Mathurai in April 1953. He was carrying a Kāvaṭi ("a decorated pole of wood with an arch over it" (TL), particularly used by pilgrims going to Palni) with an earthen pot attached to it. In the pot was a snake, which he was going to let loose on the Tiruparankunram hill near by, a place famous for its temple to Subramanyan, with whom Murukaṉ has become amalgamated.[2] He was also dragging a small temple car with hooks fastened in the muscles of his back. His skin was pierced with scores of needles, his eyes were protruding and his whole appearance out of the ordinary as was his strength and capacity of enduring pain. In his normal state the man, I was informed, was a worker in the Mathurai cotton mills and a member of the local tradeunion. Whenever he stopped on the

[1] Another instance is recorded below 259 ff. Reference may also be made to Sandegren, op. cit. 128 ff.

[2] See below 251.

road, people were anxiously asking him questions, serious questions that lay heavily on their minds. He was not left to guess what was in the enquirer's mind, but the question was put to him direct.

This man would not be called Kōṭaṅki. He is the chosen vehicle of god Murukaṉ, a Cāmiyāṭi, but the use of terms varies in different parts of South India. In the Mathurai district the word Cāmiyāṭi is the word which distinguishes a really god-possessed person from the more private occupation of a Kōṭaṅki. In the Tirumullaivayal temple near Avadi in the Chingleput district such persons are called Maruḷar to be distinguished from Pēy Piṭittavaṉ (one seized by an evil spirit.) The word Maruḷ has the meaning "becoming bewildered in mind" and is not accepted for real possession in some parts. But Maruḷāḷi is also used for the five persons on whom Iruḷappacāmi, the god of darkness of the old Kurucāmi temple, Post Office road, Mathurai descends. It happens only every 25:th year, last time in 1949. Four men must hold the Maruḷāḷi. He again is strictly distinguished from a Kōṭaṅki. He has no Uṭukku, (a small drum which the Kōṭaṅki beats to attract attention and stimulate the dance), said my informant, the Pūcāri.

The Kōṭaṅkikaḷ are very numerous in the Mathurai district. When the Piṟamalai Kaḷḷar[1] celebrate their annual festival in the month of Māci, (the Māci Tiruviḻā) coinciding with the 'Great night of Śiva' (Mahācivarāttiri), many of them gather at the chief temples of the caste, Papapatti and Kurumattur. At Papapatti there are 42 idols and each has got his Kōṭaṅki. At the festival the Kōṭaṅkikaḷ come from many villages, following the Pūcāris of local temples amidst a crowd of people. They halt at several places and dance. When they have received permission from a deity, called Aiyaṉ Piṭāri or Aiyaṉ Piṭuṅki, i.e. the Kōṭaṅki who is possessed by that god, just named the Lord (Aiyaṉ, from Pali Ayya=Ārya, TL)[2], they proceed. Arriving at Papapatti they dance,

[1] See E. Thurston, op. cit. vol. III 53 ff. and particularly p. 71.

[2] This would be a translation of the expression Aiyaṉ Piṭuṅki, taking Piṭuṅki as colloquialism for Piṭittavaṉ (<Piṭuṅkiṉavaṉ). — Aiyaṉ Piṭāri would mean the "Lord-Piṭāri" or the Piṭāri of the "Lord" and single out a particular Piṭāri ("a village goddess", TL), which word is more a nomen generis than a nomen proprium (Cp. Ziegenbalg, Malabarisches Heidentum, 48, 153 and 261.). "The Lord" would naturally be Aiyaṉār who is often represented as the chief of a group (see above 173) and according to Dumont (Aiyaṉār, 263 ff.) corresponds to a higher social stratum. Although Aiyaṉār

each Kōṭaṅki in front of one idol, and place a clay image representing their own village god at his side. Back in their respective villages they dance right through the night, and now anyone can seek their advice and even ask for gifts. He falls down before the Kōṭaṅki without saying anything. The Kōṭaṅki asks him to stand up and tells him what is in his mind: "You want a child. It will be given to you after six months". If the prophecy proves to be true, the happy father will give the Kōṭaṅki a gift.

From this account given me by Jotinayakar Tēvar, a leading Kaḷḷaṉ himself although now a Christian, it is clear that the words Kōṭaṅki and Cāmiyāṭi are almost interchangeable, but more often the Cāmiyāṭi has a different standing.

Among the Piṟamalai Kaḷḷar the Pūcāri is often a Kōṭaṅki or the one in whom the god descends, but many Kōṭaṅkikaḷ are not Pūcāris. A person may be possessed and claim that a god has descended on him. He is then put to tests, because it may be an evil spirit that has seized him. At Tirumullaivayal, Chingleput district, the 'victim' is seated in front of the shrine of Paccaimalaiyammaṉ and the Pūcāri waves a light in front of the idol. If the light flickers, it means that the goddess accepts her — usually female deities descend on women and male on men — as her medium. She is then a Maruḷāḷi. If the light burns steadily, she is possessed by an evil spirit. At Karumattur, Mathurai district, the Kaḷḷars ask the possessed person a number of questions in quick succession: "Who is your father? Who is your mother? your brother? your sister? In what way are you worshipped?" etc. If the "poor devil" does not unhesitatingly give the correct answer about his relatives and other characteristics, he is not the god he pretends to be but an impostor.[1] If the answers are correct, he will be garlanded. At Papapatti there is a real roll call of those on whom the god has descended since last year. They also have to answer questions.

A great number of Kaḷḷar Kōṭaṅkis follow the god Aḷakar from

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as a rule does not "descend on people" (he is, however, called upon to do it in the Kōṭaṅki Mālai, II, 8), the first interpretation appears more likely, both because of the general position of Aiyaṉār and because none of his two wives is styled Piṭāri.

[1] I witnessed in March 1938 during the Māci Tiruviḻā how one woman was tested and failed. She hit back with wild threats: "I am Kāḷi and I will destroy you all", so that some people hastened to try to appease her.

his temple, north of Mathurai during the Cittirai festival.[1] Kōṭaṅkis are, however, found everywhere often attracting the attention of people at the market places with their little drums and offering their services to the public for a small fee. It is a point in re that they can command the spirit at will, even if their trade is a mere parody of the real thing. Their services are required for finding out theft, the cause of disease and many other things. They are not always dancing themselves. Sometimes they use a small girl for the act of becoming possessed and they direct the questions through her as well as the answers. They correspond to the soothsayer in Chapter LI with Varāhamihira.[2] There are books published for their guidance. No. 91 in the Tamil Sangam library is one. It was published in 1916 at Mathurai. I have the same book in two thin volumes published in 1950 by the same author, I. Ram. Gurusamy Kōṉār. A description and analysis of its contents follows.

The first concern of the Kōṭaṅki is to invite a god to be present. His task is to explain the sign (Kuṟi Collutal). By that is meant a clue to the right answer to the client. If the question is: "Who has taken my bullocks?", the Kōṭaṅki may first find out where that man lives and secondly what his name is. — But the client may not tell his trouble. He simply offers some betel leaves and areca nuts and the Kōṭaṅki is expected to find out what is in his mind and what the "sign" stands for. The Kōṭaṅki does not know himself and must invite the appropriate god to be present and reveal the secret.

The seance follows the pattern of a "god-dance" as described above 222—23. The drum is beaten, and the leader invokes the appropriate god to come. The handbook supplies him with 35 "invocation hymns" to different gods. In the meanwhile the medium keeps on dancing. This goes on for a while till the signs of "possession" appear. — Here is room for surprise. The leader often calls upon many gods to descend. Since he does not know the case of his client, he must have a wide range of divine assistance. Different gods may be interested in different persons and be of more or less use in a particular situation. — Even if he concentrates on invoking one particular deity, the case may require a different one. That

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[1] April-May. See above 177, note 4.

[2] Considered spurious by the editor.

must be found out from the medium who reacts only at the mentioning of the "right" god. The medium again may be sensitive to a particular god, and thus he cannot be sure of the name of the god present. His first concern must be to find it out. To that end he mentions several names and observes the reaction of the medium. At the end of the book there are nine pages with hundreds of possible names of gods. When they are recited the medium will not fail to react at some name or other.

Once the identity of the god is fixed a real conversation takes place between him and the Kōṭaṅki. The latter will ask with reference to his client: "What is it he wants?" — It is in the nature of things that the replies of the "gods" are vague to begin with, and the book answers faithfully to the demands of the situation as will be exemplified below. The Kōṭaṅki will have learnt from his handbook to hint at a number of plausible causes for the client's anxiety and to have instructed the medium likewise. This does not mean that the whole thing is a pre-arranged show. It can be said with Allier that the Kōṭaṅki himself is the first to believe in what he pretends to experience.[1] Neither he nor the medium fails to count on a real interference of the gods.

The list of names may also be used to find out a person who is connected with the inquiry as e.g. a thief, and there are several pages of names of places for the purpose of finding out his whereabouts. One may compare Sandegren's story about a medium that had mentioned a man in a distant village and was about to tell the name of the place when the power failed him.[2]

Viṉāyakar is the first god called upon. The Tamil phrase Vara-v-aḷaittal corresponds to Skt. Āvāhana, which we met in the temple ritual. The first part of the invoking address is equal to the 'meditation' in the temple ritual, when the god is visualized in his iconographic form. Here is added information about his relatives and his personal characteristics. In popular religion he is more alive and not only a number of symbols frozen into an image.

"O, child of the beautiful splendid Śiva, god of wisdom, Thou with five hands (including the elephant's trunk), who originated and grew in the Mūlātāram (the first Cakra of the Yogic system

[1] "Dans la plupart des cas ce demicharlatan se prend tout le premier au piège de ses propres fraudes." (Magie et religion, 62).

[2] Sandegren, op. cit. 133.

between the sexual organ and the anus).[1] Lord who hast Vallavai (Viṉāyakar's wife) on Thy thigh, Elephant-Face, the elder brother of Six-Face (Subramanyan), with a bulky belly, Thou Supreme Being, now Thou must place the word on my tongue so that I can without becoming perplexed say what this sign of areca nuts and betel leaves means."

His younger brother, Subramanyan is next called upon. Among his characteristics is one of peculiar interest in this connection. He is called "Thou who art mighty to drive away diseases from sufferers because Thou self hast read several crores of Mantras to the devotees". Subramanyan is very often referred to by those who read Mantras.

God after god follows beginning with the Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava deities and continuing with the Grāmadevatās: Sarasvatī, Mahā-Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Suntareśvar (Śiva as worshipped at Mathurai), Mīṉākṣi, Caturakiri Cuntaramakāliṅkam (Śiva of the 'Square hill', a mountain 30 miles southwest of Mathurai), Navagrahas, Hanuman, Akōravīrapattira Cuvāmi (The fierce god, who emanated from Śiva's frontal eye and destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice, TL), Cantaṉa Māriyammaṉ, Āvuṭaiyammaṉ ("receptacle [personified], representing divine energy, wherein the Linga is placed", TL), Aḷakamalaiyaṉ (Viṣṇu at Alakarkovil, 12 miles north of Mathurai). Eighteen-steps-Kaṟuppaṉ (who has his chief temple also at Alakarkovil[2]), Iruḷāyi Ammaṉ fierce attendant of Kāmācciyammaṉ and others like her husband Iruḷappa Cuvāmi (Iruḷ means darkness), Muttuvirai Ammaṉ, Rākkāy[3] Ammaṉ of the Shore of Holy Waters, Kāḷi Ammaṉ, Māri Ammaṉ, The seven Virgins (Kaṉṉimār), Cakka (Yakṣa) Tēvi of the nine shawls (Kampaḷam also refers to the Toṭṭiya caste, TL, but according to AC the word signifies nine castes having the habit of spreading shawls or blankets and sitting on them, sub Kampaḷam), Cadaicci Ammaṉ, Pēcci Ammaṉ, Camayaṉ, Cappāṇi Cuvāmi, Muṉiyāṇṭi, Cuṭalaimuttu, Cōṇaimuttu, Maturaivīraṉ, Mācāṉattayaṉ, Kōṭṭai Malaiyāṉ, Mārnāṭṭukkaṟuppu, Vaṉṉiyaṉ, Pēmalai Rākkāy. The last fourteen are all Grāmadevatās of different standing.[4]

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[1] S. Lindquist, Die Methoden des Yoga 190.

[2] See below 237, note 4.

[3] Ancient deity of fertility acc. to Gonda, Aspects, 260 note 131.

[4] The invocations contain interesting characteristics of many Grāmadevatās, but here is not the place to deal with them.

The same service is asked of them all. "Tell the secret of the sign. Let my tongue not falter. Be in my tongue. Tell the details, not meaningless words. May the young one (the medium) not become confused, but give him good words and let not his tongue fail".

One notices a more careful request to the higher gods: "Lord tell the appropriate word". "Let not the child (the medium) be confused". Come in front of the sign and be close at hand. Explain willingly the sign placed before us. Let not the boy be confused".

This is in contrast to a request to come down (Iṟaṅku) addressed to Iruḷāyi or a request to jump down from the tower and come out, addressed to Muṉiyāṇṭi.[1]

After all these "invocation hymns" comes an address to Govinda (Kṛṣṇa) who is asked to tell what kind of trouble it is, whether it has to do with gods or men, four-legged animals, reptiles or fishes; if it is theft or disturbances; if it has to do with the king or some unrest in the village etc. And he answers "Don't fear, I shall say if it is a dissatisfaction with the gods or if it is some evil deed (i.e. Pillicūṉiyam="black magic"). I shall tell the truth."

It is now the main task of the Kōṭaṅki to find out for what trouble the inquirer has sought his help. For this purpose follow two pages of all possible subjects on which the Kōṭaṅki can be consulted: Is it the good things of his wife he wants to know? Or some illness he fears he will be getting? Does the sign mean that he has no children? If he is not concerned with some giddines his son is suffering from, did he come to make him study? Did she come to cure the king of his disease or to know the fortune of her husband? Did he want to see if he would be happy if he bought that land or house? Did he want to know if his fields will bear good crops or to know the details of the theft of his cattle? Did he want to know the nature of the spell (Cūṉiyam) his opponent has cast upon him? Does he want to have jewellery made or to cure the poison of the bite he can not see? Does he want to buy cattle successfully? etc. This is chanted to

[1] Muṉiyāṇṭi of the "Bare tower", the northern tower of the Mīṉākṣi temple. He is also called Moṭṭai Kōpura Nātaṉ. He resides at the bottom of the tower outside the wall, but an indication that he is living higher up also is found in the custom of offering a flower garland reaching from the ground up to the top of the tower and down again. The tower is about 130 feet high.

find out if the medium reacts at any point. If the medium does not know for sure, the book expands in a somewhat verbose story of what he saw on a hill meeting a monkey etc. and then returns to speak of some likely cases, just a few alternatives as trouble coming to women: Was it not so, Guru? Well, if not I will tell and he goes on to speak of land and what grows on fields etc.

In the second volume, the first half of which is arranged in the same manner as the first, the god-demon speaks addressing the Kōṭaṅki as Guru (Ācāṉ): "Don't become confused. I, your servant Rāma, have also come. I have heard the invitation. I shall graciously tell what the sign means".

Then Govinda explains in somewhat cautious words that there are two things of everything, man and woman, wet crop and dry crop. Has the sign now become clear or not"?

Here, it is said, the sign will be clear, and a number of possible troubles for each case are chanted. Thereby the matter must become clear and the party can be given sacred ashes and sent away.

In some cases the god descends vehemently and the medium speaks: "No, no I could not tell it. A devil has confused me (Pillippēy). I shall make that devil dance and control him and then I shall tell the power of the sign". He goes on telling in many words that a woman is tormented by an evil spirit and it is the distress caused by a devil of madness (Kōṭṭippēy), but he will tell how it came.

Directing himself with vehemence to the inquirers he speaks of the fees to be paid to the Victory Kaṟuppaṉ for the birth of a child, a vow which was not fulfilled. He goes on to tell how the woman in the previous year had offended him. He had risen to smite her then and there, but at the request of the lord of the northern tower of the Mīṉākṣi temple (Moṭṭai Kōpura Nātaṉ) he had treated her 'mildly'. "You did not know what trouble had come to the woman and spent much money on medicine, to what use"? She is suffering from distress[1] caused by Victory Kaṟuppaṉ and nothing else. Now she must bring as offering a Kāvaṭi (a pole with an arch for carrying gifts to temples), a sickle, a crowing fowl, ten eggs, dried fish and meat, toddy and arrack and what money she has got. She must

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[1] Kōṭṭalai, a Dravidian word meaning distress but also "grotesque gestures as of one possessed by the devil" TL.

perform the ceremonies at the place of Pūcai after sunset. And if you also are good to me, I will give you good health." Thus it ends. — The case of the woman may be taken as a "model case" and the prescription taken to refer to what has been done or should be done. The last words only are directed as an exhortation to the party in question.

Then follow replies for other cases. They are all formulated in a general way so as to meet various contingencies under the different headings as for example: "If it is a house", — "I saw trouble in the house. I made up my mind to build a new house. I thought I wanted a new place to stay in. I had tests by means of the chirping of lizards. I saw frightful witchcraft (Kaṭuñcūṉiyam) performed deceitfully." — He adds: "You came to ask me this."

As an explanation for the Kōṭaṅki is added that in this way the sign is to be found out and the party can be sent away after they have been given sacred ashes and Tikkupantaṉam has been performed.

"If it concerns wet crops or dry crops." — "I went to see the fields etc." he says he saw various signs and found water when he dug a well, and at the end he adds: "you came to ask details about buying and selling fields with profit."

"If it is about cattle" — "If it concerns movable property" — "If it concerns horses" — "If it concerns birds" — "If it concerns reptiles" — "If it concerns fishes" are the other titles under this general aspect.

More direct answers occupy nearly 30 pages in the first volume. "How to cure the husband's disease" — "I saw his hands and feet grow slack, and heavy fever coming on and his tongue dried up. The reason is that he met Kaṟuppaṉ at the middle of the night and I saw the god like a black cat enter between his legs and frighten him; he did not see it himself. You must therefore offer five coins to Kaṟuppaṉ, and his health will be restored without fail".

"How to find livelihood for a husband" — "You have come to ask why your business has failed. The planet caused trouble. If you wait till the end of this month, the "natural" (Iyalpāṉa) planet will rise, and then there will be Yōkam[1] and at once the trade you have taken up will flourish. But one thing more; if you express your

[1] See above 201.

wishes to your house-god and worship him, your business will be splendid".

"How to make business" — "How to make a child study" — "To explain why a child is frightened" — "Telling the return of those who have travelled far" — "To arrange marriage for a son" — "To arrange marriage for a daughter" — "To tell of delivery time" — "How to seek a wife for a son" — "Telling about the illness of the wife through fear" — "Answering those who want children" — "Answering those who ask if a lost property will be retrieved" — "Interpreting dreams" — "Telling about theft" — "Telling about witchcraft" — "Telling about court-cases" — "Telling about mistakes in the worship of the god" — "About directing a prayer to the god" (contains description of a number of Kāvaṭikaḷ carrying milk, rose-water, milk of the tender coconut, camphor, sugar, flower, a cock etc.) — "About building a house" — "About moving to another house" — "About cultivating a garden" etc. etc.

The first volume ends with Tikkupantaṉam here called Ticai Kaṭṭu or Ārakaṭṭu i.e. binding-protection. The Kōṭaṅki offers sacred ashes in the four directions to four goddesses: Cellāyi, Māri, Kāḷi and Pēcci asking them for protection.

At the request of many Kōṭaṅkikaḷ, a chapter is added in the second volume called The Science of pearl signs (Muttukuṟi Cāstiram). The Kōṭaṅki has twelve pearls in a bag. One of them is enclosed in a silver casket. He lets them fall slowly on a blanket spread in front of him, and when the pearl in the silver casket falls, he counts the remaining pearls and thereby fixes one of the twelve houses of the Zodiac. They are all described as having different subjects pertaining to them. He finds out which subject the inquirer is concerned with and then makes use of the appropriate verses contained in the first part of the book and which he must know by heart.

Finally there is a part of ordinary Māntirīkam[1] with Mantras and Cakras and rules for Pūcai to remove all diseases, to cure those who have become frightened by the sight of devils and those who have been possessed by them, to remove famine from a house and evil spells, to remove the evil influence of the nine planets, to drive away devils and evil spirits. We shall deal with the details under Māntirīkam.

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[1] See below 267.

If the Kōṭaṅki himself becomes possessed and the god speaks through him, it is direct method. There is no instrument, except for making the god descend. But the usual method is different. He uses a medium and knows how to call any god to be present. Superficially speaking this seems to be entirely in the line of magic as it is often conceived, i.e. a man exercises control over the gods instead of submitting himself to them. The situation is, however, more complicated. The instrumental formula used by the Kōṭaṅki is full of reverence and praise and is more like a humble request. The second volume of the book mentioned above opens with four pages of homage to be paid to all gods. About 50 gods are addressed with some words of praise to each. Calling the Pūcāri or the Paṭṭar more pious-minded than the Kōṭaṅki is an arbitrary judgement. In the case of the Kōṭaṅki the purpose is very definite and differentiated to meet the need of the client. We shall soon see that this is not entirely absent from the temple either. The medium he uses becomes an instrument and the god also, when called in for a definite purpose at any time.

Considering the many questions of vital importance to the inquirers, put to the Kōṭaṅki, he must be taken in earnest. People approach him for advice and believe that they meet a deciding factor through him. In many cases greed and poverty has made him play on credulity and desire for small sensations and, perhaps more often, fear. He is, however, not without fear himself that the deity he is in a way controlling and making use of, might spring a surprise on him.

His task is to find out by means of inspiration what is worrying people. An acute state of mind with persons of a certain mental disposition forms the instrument in the first place; the existence of gods and demons in the second.

In some cases there will be found an inclination towards communing with supernormal power and divine life for its own sake. Cases of spontaneous enrapture are not infrequent, and disposition counts more than training.

Recognising gods as descending on people the public has made use of this means of contact with supernormal knowledge and power. As a consequence many of the "chosen" persons have realized — to a varying degree of selfinterest — the useful service they can render in revealing secrets and advising people with authority.

It has been the aim of this brief account to indicate their role in present-day life and to show particularly the method of the more pragmatic attitude taken by them. No demarcation line can be drawn between the "en-thusiastic" experience in the literal sense of the word and the utilitarian practice coming under the aspects of instrument and purpose.[1]

Signs and omens are instruments, indirect means of acquiring knowledge. Their message is not direct but must be ascertained in a round about way.

The wild animal at the gate of the city conveys a message indirectly in contrast to a messenger who in plain words informs the people that the enemy is on the march. The information received through omens does not come from men, and it is the same with marks. In every respect they are instruments only with another result than those instruments whereby the situation is changed. They serve the purpose of giving knowledge, which does not make any difference in principle.

The "god-dancer" serves as means of communication between the omniscient deity and ignorant man. It is a channel for man to more full information on a subject with which he is concerned.

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[1] The wider problem of assigning the right place in sociology and psychology of religion to these "god-dancers" does not concern us here. See above 177 note 2. Apart from stray references in the works mentioned above 42 the literature is scarce. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of Southern India relates instances of "devil dance", IV, 436 ff.; see also Omens and Superstitions by the same author, 254 ff.; Sandegren was just quoted, Om Sydindiens rövarekaster, 131 ff. Whitehead has only passing references, The village gods of South India, 72, Elmore has a more detailed account, Dravidian gods in modern Hinduism, 48. O-Malley has a reference to South Canara, Popular Hinduism, 155. Frölich, Tamulische Volksreligion, 9, 31, 46. etc. etc. — I have not found any work dealing comprehensively with the phenomenon.

For literature on the general subject see Andrae, Mystikens psykologi; Berguer, Traité de psychologie de la religion; Rawcliffe, The psychology of the occult, (who has references to analogous phenomena, 102 and 192); Literature pertaining to India is registered by Eliade, Le Chamanisme, but as Eliade clearly limits his investigation to Shamanism in the strict sense (op. cit. 338) to concern the "travelling of the soul" there cannot be much room for the Kōṭaṅki, who popularly speaking has the opposite experience of something descending on him. — Siddhars are more on the shamanic line. — A brief reference to the use of the drum (Tamil: Uṭukku) is noteworthy (op. cit. p. 377). Cp. also Bouteiller, Chamanisme et guérison magique.

There is no question of a spontaneous revelation of divine will. This is not a stage for prophesying but seances arranged for obtaining answers to questions raised by men.

Whether it is a parrot picking up a card or a roulette stopped by the image of Hanuman or the "possessed" child in the hands of the Kōṭaṅki the purpose is one and the same, to find out things which man ordinarily can not know. The three examples are means of the same instrumental character. A third factor is called in susceptible to skilful, and sometimes careful handling. The handling is ritualistic, in many details equal to temple worship.

Through various means people try to know what is going to happen and find out the cause of the present situation. The all important question now is: How can the evil be averted or remedied? We shall first again turn to the temples to find out what they offer as help and advice.

b. REMEDIES

Private worship in temples.

Apart from the Nittiya Pūcai, the daily worship supported by the temple funds, both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples offer facilities for private worship. They are regularized by the Devastanam (the office managing the temple property), and notice boards have been put up in major temples announcing the different items with their fees. This ritual is called Arccaṉai and also Kāmiyam.[1] For illustration I copy the boards from the Mīṉākṣi Cuntarēcuvara temple at Mathurai, from the Cuntararājaṉ (Viṣṇu) temple at Alakarkovil and from the Rāmēcuvarar temple[2], Ramesvaram.

Mīṉākṣi Cuntarēcuvara temple

1. Breaking a coconut, camphor Āratti (waving of light) . .	Rs	0—0—6
2. Aṣṭōttiram (Aṣṭottaraśata = repeating the name of the god 108 times)	„	0—2—0
3. Tiricatai (Triśata = repeating the name 300 times)	„	0—6—0

[1] "That which is done with some particular motive as a religious ceremony", TL. Cp. Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur, 120 and Śrī Vaiṣṇava Tiṉacari, p. II ff. and particularly Caland, Altindische Zauberei. Darstellung der altindischen "Wunschopfer". The Vedic Kāmyeṣṭis are of a similar species.

[2] Ramesvaram and Holy Sethu, 26 ff.

4. Cahasra Nāmamum, Nāmāvaḷi (The thousand, in reality 1008, names). (The reading of the names of the god is done by the Paṭṭar while throwing flowers on the idol. Lists of the names are available in small booklets.[1]) . . . . Rs 0—8—0
5. Kaliyāṇa Tāmpūlam (Areca nuts and betel leaves offered to the goddess before the marriage. An Aṣṭōttiram is read for the bridegroom and one for the bride) . . . . „ 0—10—0
6. Kaliyāṇam. (This means that the celebration of the marriage takes place in the temple. The Tāli, the marriage badge, is placed at the feet of the goddess. Although people are allowed to perform the ceremony in front of Cuntarēcuvarar as well, the ceremony is always performed before the goddess). It costs . . . . „ 1—10—0
7. Upayanaivēttiyam[2] per rupee (A fee for Naivēttiyam of milk, rosewater, saffron etc. in fulfilment of a vow, e.g. concerning courtcases or illness). . . . . „ 0—1—0
8. Māviḷakku (lamp of flour)[3] (I was informed that this ceremony is resorted to by people who are suffering from stomach ache. Compare the practice at Māri-Ammaṉ temples where it is used for eye diseases). . . . . „ 0—1—0
9. Garland . . . . „ 0—1—0
10. Jepakkuṭam ("Waterpot sanctified with Mantras" TL.) Both vessel and water, which must be sacred water, should be brought by the devotee. It costs him in addition to have it poured over the idol). . . . . „ 0—4—0
11. Veṅkā Apiṣēkam. (The word Veṅkā is uncertain. It may be Kaṅka and stand for water from the Ganges) . . . . „ 0—4—0
12. Upayam (Gift to the temple) per item . . . . „ 0—4—0
13. Upaya Apiṣēkam (Gift of ingredients for Apiṣēkam to the temple) . . . . „ 0—1—0

Any person wanting to have any of these Arccaṉai performed buys a ticket at the entrance to the shrine of the goddess. Arccaṉai in the temple of Mīṉākṣi is much more in demand than in Śiva's temple, and for that reason tickets are sold here for both the shrines.[4]

[1] See also Vaitika Tarma Varttiṉi (above 58 ff.): IV, 5, pp 86—87, V, 10, p. 216 and a consecutive series of 1000 names from IV, 2 to V, 3.

[2] Probably = of double purpose, "for earthly prosperity and heavenly happiness also", Apte s.v. Cp. Upaya Vipūti = "eternal bliss and worldly happiness", TL.

[3] See above 140.

[4] On the other hand Arccaṉai to the Navagrahas placed in the front hall of the Cuntarēcuvarar temple is very common. Especially on Saturdays their shrine is much frequented. Other gods attracting the public here are Kāḷi and Hanuman.

This is one indication of the importance of goddesses in South India.[1] The fee is levied for permission only. All ingredients have to be produced by the worshipper, and gifts (Takṣiṇai) to the Paṭṭar are not included. All vessels and coins used at the service will become the property of the Devastanam. The notice is dated 23-10 1948.

The list of the Cuntararāja Temple at Alakarkovil contains many more items.

1.	Campā ("Boiled rice mixed with peppar powder, cumin etc. offered to a deity in temples", TL)	Rs	1—4—0
2.	Tōcai (Rice pancake)	»	1—4—0
3.	Poṅkal[2] (Boiled rice)	»	1—4—0
4.	Puḷiyōtarai ("Boiled rice dressed with tamarind sauce", TL)	»	1—4—0
5.	Muṭikāṇikkai (Offering of one's hair=Muṭi)	»	0—10—0
6.	Cahasranāmam	»	1—0—0
7.	Aṣṭōttiram	»	0—4—0
8.	Caṉṉatitēṅkāy-ticket (Offering a coconut [Tēṅ-Kāy] in the presence [Caṉṉati][3] of the god)	»	0—1—3
9.	Caṉṉatimālai (Offering a garland in the presence of the god)	»	0—1—3
10.	Camphor Āratti in the presence of Eighteen-Steps-Karuppaṉ[4]	»	0—1—3
11.	Garland in the same place	»	0—1—3
12.	Nilaimālai (A big garland reaching from head to foot. Cp. the garland reaching from top to bottom of the northern tower of the Mīṉākṣi temple.[5]	»	1—0—8
13.	Garland to Yōka (Yoga) Naracimmaṉ (The fourth Avatar of Viṣṇu, "who commits Tapas so fiercely that fire ema-		

[1] Whitehead, 17.

[2] This is the common offering either prepared at home or, more often, in the temple courtyard — this does not apply to the big temples, however — by the worshippers and taken home or eaten then and there after it has been offered to the gods. It is given even to the crudest deities and has given name to the Makara Saṅkrānti festival in South India. Underhill, The Hindu religious year, 39—40.

[3] See above 131.

[4] The "black god" having 18 steps up to his "throne" a famous watchman of Cuntararājaṉ and common throughout the Mathurai district, the god of the Kaḷḷar community. See Sandegren, op. cit. 157. and Radha Krishna, 210 ff. where he refutes the account given by Whitehead, (op. cit. 113—115), identifying him with Maturaivīraṉ etc. Dumont, Aiyaṉār, passim.

[5] Cp. above 229, note 1.

nates from his head and must be let out through an opening in the roof".[1] . . . . Rs 1—0—8

14. Fee for offering to the god: Parivaṭṭam (vestment), Toṭṭil (cradle. This is a very common votary gift to almost all deities. They are sold in the Mīṇākṣi temple and offered to Vīrapattira Kāli inside the front hall of Cuntarēcuvarar's temple, to Maturaiviraṉ outside the walls, to Māriyammaṉ in many places in Mathurai and throughout S. India), Arivāḷ (bill-hook or sickle, often offered to Kaṟuppaṉ etc.) for each item . . . . » 0—10—0
15. Vaṭaimālai Cātta (to offer a garland of cakes made of black gram) . . . . » 1—0—8
16. Gift of cattle . . . . » 0—11—0
17. Gifts of other kind . . . . » 0—10—0
18. Nāmakaraṇam[2] (This and some other Saṃskāras are performed at this place of pilgrimage) . . . . » 2—1—4
19. Karṇapūṣaṇam (Skt. Bhūṣaṇa, the earboring ceremony, making room for ear-ornament, Bhūṣaṇa) . . . . » 1—0—8
20. Upanayaṇam (investiture with the sacred thread) . . . . » 5—0—0
21. Vivākam (marriage) . . . . » 10—0—0
22. Nalvākku (Auspicious word pronounced by the Paṭṭar) » 2—14—0
23. Cērkkaivākku (Alliance or friendship, reconciliation, probably before Eighteen-Steps-Kaṟuppaṉ.[3] . . . . . . » 2—14—0
24. Oath before Eighteen-Steps-Kaṟuppaṉ. ("When cases Civil, Criminal or Revenue are decided on oaths, oftentimes the courts of Mathurai, Ramnad and Tinnevelly send the parties here to take the oath decided upon. Suffice it to say that 90% of such cases are generally amicably settled even at the last moment when the oaths are just about to be administered. For the litigant is in such dread and fear at the wrath of the deity"[4] . . . . » 3—0—0
25. Counteroath . . . . » 3—0—0
26. Karumpu Toṭṭil (A cradle made of sugarcane and offered by people desirous of children) . . . . » 5—0—0
27. Caṣṭiyaptapūrtti (Completing 60 years or more correct celebrating one's 60:th birthday counting the day of birth as number one. Reaching this age is considered to be of special significance.) . . . . » 5—0—0
28. Carppa Cānti (Carppa Tōṣa Parikāram[5] or remedy of the serpent-evil or as TL puts it: "Rites in expiation of the

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[1] Radha Krishna, 178.
[2] See above 184.
[3] Cp. Radha Krishna, 212.
[4] Radha Krishna, 212—213.
[5] Cp. above 160.

sin of cobrakilling in past births performed with a view to begetting long-lived offspring")[1]	Rs	5—0—0
29. Navagraha Śānti (Mitigation of the evil influence of the nine planets)[2]	„	5—0—0
30. Yamaṉ Parikāram (Remedy against death)	„	5—0—0
31. Āyuḷ Hōmam (Hōmam to ensure long life)	„	5—0—0
32. Vimāṉa Cēvai (Worship of the golden tower) per person	„	0—0—6
33. Upaya Tirumañcaṉam (Gift of bath to the idol)		
To Perumāḷ alone	„	7—8—0
To Perumāḷ with the two goddesses Cuntaravalli and Āṇṭāḷ	„	10—0—0
34. Applying sandal paste to the doorsteps	„	2—1—4
35. Worship of the Āḻvārs (The 12 Vaiṣṇava saints)[3]	„	0—3—0
36. Tāyār Mūlavar Tirumañcaṉam (Bath to the fixed idols of the "mothers", Śrī Devī and Bhū Devī)	„	7—8—0
37. Āṇṭāḷ (One of the 12 Āḻvārs, often worshipped as Viṣṇu's consort)	„	7—8—0
38. Other holy names (Itara Tiru Nāmaṅkaḷ)	„	3—12—0
39. For each garland to Tāyār, Āṇṭāḷ and other fixed idols (Mūlavar)	„	0—2—6

The means of worship vary. The cost is estimated sometimes with regard to the labour involved, e.g. the reading of a thousand names costs more than the reading of 108, but sometimes with regard to the recipient god, e.g. when a garland to the fierce Yōka Naracimmaṉ costs more to offer than a Caṉṉatimālai i.e. at the main shrine. The same offering may be estimated to be of different value when made of costlier material as when a cradle of sugarcane costs Rs 5 to offer, whereas an ordinary cradle can be handed over for Rs 0—10—0. The purpose is sometimes clearly stated as in the case of Āyuḷ Hōmam and Carppa Cānti. The guiding principle is the amount of benefit the devotee will have. The fee is fixed accordingly, or one could say according to the extent the temple is tapped on its storage of blessings.

The fees corresponds to those of other Viṣṇu temples in the

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[1] Cp. Nāga Pratiṣṭhā Prārambhaḥ, the last chapter in the Uttara Kāraṅākamam which is meant to remedy Carppa Tōṣam or, as it says, to increase sons and grandsons and remove all diseases, 403. Cp. also Monier Williams, Brāhmanism 325. See further below 254.

[2] For details see below 299.

[3] Farquhar, Outline 187—88, Konow in Chantepie de la Saussaye II, 155, Radha Krishna, 185.

neighbourhood of Mathurai. From Tirumōcūr, five miles east of the city, we notice that the breaking of a

1. coconut costs	Rs	0—1—6
2. Aṣṭōttiram	„	0—4—0
3. Flour lamp	„	0—4—0
4. Thousand names	„	0—10—0
5. Upaya Uṟuppu (gift of clothes or jewels)	„	1—0—0
6. Kāvaṭi (The arched pole)	„	1—4—0
7. Earboring	„	1—4—0
8. Haircutting (or an offering)	„	1—4—0
9. Upanayaṉam	„	7—0—0
10. Marriage	„	10—0—0

The list from Ramesvaram is printed in the guide-book.[1] The instructions given are rather illuminating and deserve a place here.

1. "Pilgrims who bring offerings for the God and Goddess in the shape of small gold or silver pieces, such as Bilva Patra[2]," "Thirusoolam"[3] Umbrella, pieces of gold or silver and such other minor things[4], will first show them to the Pēṣkār (the deputy agent) who will afterwards hand them over to the priests of the temple in charge at the Caṉṉati of God Rāmanātaṉ and other Caṉṉatis. The priest will have the offerings placed at the feet of the God or Goddess as the case may be and afterwards returned to the Pēṣkār to be brought into the temple account. The pilgrims may satisfy themselves whether this has been done and obtain tickets.

2. ... (about land gifts).

3. Ganges water must be brought in metal[5] vessels (iron or tin vessels cannot be used). Those who bring water in glass bottles, iron or tin vessels, will have to purchase a metal vessel from the temple vessels store room ... and the water will have to be poured in the presence of the Pēṣkār in his office who will satisfy himself that the water is genuine ... Gentlemen wishing to have the Ganges water poured on the God but who are unable to take it to Rameswaram can send the same metal vessel by parcel from any part of the country with their names, Gotras (lineage) and stars with money order of Rs. 2/ — for each vessel, but if they want any Apiṣēkam to be done on a particular day, such as Mahā Śivarātri, they should take particular care to send them at least two weeks in advance. Pilgrims bringing Ganges water will have to see the Pēṣkār and take a receipt on payment of Rs. 2/ — for

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[1] Rameswaram and Holy Sethu, 26 ff.

[2] Leaf of aegle marmelos sacred to Śiva. See Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 336.

[3] Tiricūlam, the trident.

[4] The other pieces of silver and gold are positively imitations of sick parts of the body often brought as offerings at places of pilgrimage. For pictures see Thurston, Omens, 160 and Radha Krishna, 249.

[5] Meaning fine metal.

each vessel and go to the priest in charge of the temple who will have the water poured on the god. Such pouring of Ganges water takes place daily from early morning almost continuously till the sandal anointing during the Arttayāma Apiṣēkam in the night, and on Śivarātri it takes place during the whole day and night. For the convenience of those who do not bring Ganges water with them, Ganges water can be had from the Pēṣkār's office in the temple.

4. There are 5 kinds of Apiṣēkam at the following rate:

1.	Upayāpiṣēkam with Prasāda	Rs	5—4—0
2.	Do. Do.	»	6—0—0
3.	Other Upayāpiṣēkam with Prasāda	»	10—9—0
4.	Pañcāmiruta Apiṣēkam with do.	»	22—8—0
5.	Rudra Apiṣēkam with do.	»	50—0—0

(For the terms Upayam and Pañcāmirutam see above)[1]

For the above items milk-, honey-, sandal-, Pañcāmiruta Apiṣēkam are performed in the four main Caṉṉatis namely Lord Rāmanātaṉ, Lord Viśvanātaṉ, Goddess Pārvatavarttaṉi and Viśālākṣī during the Apiṣēka Kālam (time) in Viḷā Pūjā, Kāla Pūjā, Uccikālam, Cāyarakṣai and Arttayāmam.[2] After the above Apiṣēkams are over, the person who does the Apiṣēkam will get some Pañcāmiruta Prasāda and some Prasāda (Tamarind food or sugar Poṅkal) according to the nature of the Apiṣēkam. This food-Prasāda can be had from the Maṭapaḷḷi (the temple kitchen) manager, who will duly check the Apiṣēka Prasāda and distribute it to the concerned persons and the pilgrims according to the rates specified in the temple office. ... For Pañcāmiruta Apiṣēkam and Rudra Apiṣēkam Rs. 4/ — and Rs. 6/ — respectively worth of Ganges water is supplied from the temple store.

5. Tables of ticket charges is given below:

1.	Ganges water — for each vessel	Rs	2—0—0
2.	Milk Apiṣēkam for one measure (including cost of milk)	»	1—8—0
3.	Cahasranāma Arccaṉai with Naivēttiyam (Pāyācam [semi-liquid food of milk and sago] or sugar or tamarind bath) Arccaṉai fee Rs 1—0—0 Naivēttiyam fee » 2—0—0	»	3—0—0
4.	Tiricatai Arccaṉai (300 and 8 names with Pāyācam Naivēttiyam (8 annas for Arccaṉai and Rs. 1/ — for Naivēttiyam)	»	1—8—0
5.	Aṣṭōttira Arccaṉai for each Arccaṉai	»	0—5—0
6.	For each coconut	»	0—1—0
7.	For Upayāpiṣēkam as detailed above	»	5—4—0
8.	Do. Do.	»	6—0—0
9.	Other Upayam Do.	»	10—8—0
10.	Pañcāmiruta Apiṣēkam	»	22—8—0

[1] Above 236, note 2 and p. 151.

[2] Cp. above 99 ff.

11. Rudra Apiṣēkam	Rs	50—0—0
12. Pañcamūrtti[1] Utsavam	»	160—0—0
13. Silver car procession	»	500—0—0

As regards the Pañcamūrtti Utsavam and silver car procession, pilgrims desirous of performing them have to pay for the ticket in the Pēṣkār's office a day before. For Pañcamūrtti Utsavam the god and goddess will be taken in procession in gold "Rishabavāhanam" (bull vehicle) along with the Pañcamūrttis around the four car streets, and the donor will be garlanded and honoured on the termination of the function. So also is the case with the Silver car procession wherein the god and goddess will be taken out in procession in a silver car with electric illumination around the four car streets.

6. No charges are made for offering of flowers and garlands to the god and goddess. For offering fruits namely mangos, plantain, jam etc. and for executing Pirārttaṉai[2] viz. Kāvaṭi (the decorated pole), Muṭi (haircutting), marriage offerings, cradle etc., there are scheduled rates which can be had from the Pēṣkār's office, and on payment of the prescribed fees this may be done".

The extracts from the official guide for the pilgrims, prepared under the authority of the Ramesvaram Devastanam Committee in 1951, show the instrumental character of the Arccaṉai. The ingredients must have specified qualities as being water from the Ganges, brought in metal vessels etc. The Apiṣēkam is specified as of five different kinds at a rising scale of cost. The arrangement for performing Apiṣēkam per post — existing in other places of pilgrimage also such as Palni — is particularly clear as an indirect method of securing the benefits of Ramesvaram.

Temple visits may be done with a view to worshipping some particular deity. It was indicated in the list from Alakarkovil that the Yōka Naracimmaṉ had special power to assist people. In the Mīṉākṣi-Cuntarēcuvaraṉ temple at Mathurai, many people come for the worship of Hanuman or Kāḷi in particular. Of special importance are the Navagrahas, for which an Arccaṉai at Rs 5—0—0 was mentioned in the list from Alakarkovil. At Mathurai many people will have their shrine as the special object of their temple

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[1] The five gods, viz. Viṉāyakaṉ, Murukaṉ, Civaṉ, Umai, Caṇṭēcuvaraṉ, TL.

[2] The tamilized form Pirārttaṉai is commonly used for prayer among Christians and has more the meaning of personal request than Jepam, which implies ritual chanting. Pirārttaṉai and vow are here melted into one, and the request is considered successful only if connected with the usual votive offerings, the arched pole, the shaving of the hair, the cradle. See below 255.

visit. The Arccaṉai are Aṣṭōttiram, Tiricatai and Cahasranāmam. In addition worshippers buy on the spot small bags of fat which they burn in an iron bowl in front of Saturn. Circumambulation is also a part of the ritual. The ritual has a definite purpose, viz. the appeasement of the planets, Graha Śānti, which may be either prophylactic or a remedy. In the latter case the rites are more elaborate and we shall hear of them presently.

The temples will have many visitors who do not perform Arccaṉai. People sometimes come to feel surrounded by the sacred atmosphere for meditation and prayer and in any case to give expression to an urge to pay homage to the divine. Circumstances may give occasion for special attention to the gods, and the borderline is not stable between quiet edification and intentional acts. The lists of Arccaṉai are meant to meet the requirements of the public for suitable and appropriate procedures in times of crisis. Visits of such character are called Pirārttaṉaikaḷ or Virataṅkaḷ or Nērttikaṭaṅkaḷ. We shall revert to them below but before that, another object of temple visits, regular as well as occasional, must be referred to, viz. the sacred waters or Tīrttaṅkaḷ. All major temples have their sacred tanks and a ceremonial bath is part of the individual visitor's worship.[1] At Ramesvaram not less than 42 sacred waters are recommended to the pilgrims. Many are just mentioned, but in several cases details are given about the benefits to be had from a bath in the sacred water.

1. The sacred water of the "Crown of the matted hair" (=Śiva). Every twelfth year when Jupiter stands in Leo on the auspicious day of the full-moon during the month of Māci under the Nakṣattiram of Makam, a bath here will give twelve times the benefits (Palaṉ) one obtains by bathing at Kumbakonam during the Mahāmakam.[2]

4. The sacred water of Lakṣmaṇaṉ (Rāma's younger brother) Here begins the pilgrimage to Ramesvaram. It is therefore proper to bathe here and offer sesame[3] to the Pitirs (ancestors).

[1] Skt. Tīrtha. About 3000 Tīrthas for the whole of India are enumerated by Pandurang Vaman Kane, History of Dharma Sastra, IV.

[2] The Mahāmakam festival at Kumbakonam attracts about a million pilgrims. It is celebrated every twelfth year, last time in 1945. Cp. Glasenapp, Heilige Stätten Indiens, 83.

[3] For sesame as the appropriate offering to the manes sp. Meyer. Trilogie, II: 26, 45, 101.

18. The sacred water of the Hanuman tank. On the shores of this tank one should perform sacrifice for obtaining a son and the dedication of a Nāga[1], so the learned say.

20. The sacred water of Agni. It is good to offer Tarppaṇam and Śrāddha to the Pitirs here.

42. The Kōṭi sacred water. Kōṭi means either ten millions or a nook, a corner, also end or tip. This is a well inside the temple and pilgrims bring their pilgrimage to an end by bathing here. It is also the custom to bring back as Prasāda from Ramesvaram to relatives and friends water from this well.[2]

From the Stalapurāṇam of Tirupati, a little book in Tamil called Vēṅkaṭācala Mahātmiyam (printed in 1939) one learns about the sacred water of Pāpaviṉācam, that removal of all sins and heavenly bliss will be the share of those who bathe in it.

The Stalapurāṇam of Piranmalai[3] (a famous temple in the Ramnad District), enumerates 58 places of sacred waters and records the glory of some of them. He who bathes in the Mukta Tīrttam will obtain much wealth. He who takes a bath in the Pairava Tīrttam will be freed from all sins. He who does it in the Piṉāka Tīrttam will obtain many blessings. Those who take a bath in the Civacitta tank will render satisfaction to the Pitirs. The Kṣīra Tīrttam delivers from poverty those who bathe in it and afterwards worship Cēṣacāyi (Viṣṇu, resting [cāyi] on the serpent Cēṣaṉ). In their house, Lakṣmī (the goddess of wealth) will dance. Lepers who bathe in the Pairava Tīrttam will be free from their disease. A bath in the Guru Tīrttam will clear of guilt and blemish (Tōṣam) men who have had illicit intercourse with women and women who have had illicit intercourse with men. Viṣṇu Tīrttam restores health to people suffering from consumption. — Places of special fame for their sacred water like Kurralam offer removal of all sins as result of bathing.[4]

The Golden Lily tank in the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai removes sins even from him who unknowingly comes in touch with its water just like fire burning.[5] It leads to heaven even an unbeliever who takes a bath in it.

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[1] Cp. below 254.

[2] Cētu Mahā Purāṇam, Ramesvaram, 60—67.

[3] Pirāṉmalai Stala Purāṇam, 32 ff.

[4] Tirukkuṟṟālattalavaralāṟu, 39.

[5] Tiru Ālavāy, 15.

The sacred waters are effective through their connection with the temples and the gods residing in them. They are named after gods and Ṛṣis and heroes: Bhairava, Viṣṇu, Sarasvatī, Rudra, Manmathī, Lakṣmī etc. and Vasiṣṭha, Agastya etc. and Lakṣmaṇa etc. Sometimes the Tīrttam has its name from its effect as Rōka Nivāraṇam (remover of all diseases) etc. In many cases a story of how the water once helped a god or a devotee out of guilt and misfortune is attached to the description of the Tīrttam. This is told in a part called "The glory of the Tīrttam" belonging to all Sthala Purāṇas. Sacred water is as a rule taken to originate from the sacred rivers and from the Ganges in particular. A miraculous appearance of the Ganges in a tank or a well, at least on some particular occasion, is the common cause for its sacred power. — The role of water in India's religious experience is too great to be dealt with here. Heinrich Zimmer has probably got the gist of the religious sentiment on this matter when he writes: "Physical contact with the body of the goddess Gaṅgā has the magic effect of transforming automatically the nature of the devotee. As if by an alchemical process of purification and transmutation, the base metal of his earthly nature becomes sublimated; he becomes an embodiment of the divine essence of the highest eternal realm."[1] The effect of the sacred water is obviously indirect. It is localized and due to circumstances over which man has no control; but he can use it as a means for obtaining what he wants. He chooses different Tīrttams for different needs.

Private worship in temples is epitomized and appraised with regard to its outward form. That offerings, salutations and bathing should be expressions of devotion and piety goes without saying, although it is sometimes expressly stated that it must be so. Even in Māntirīkam, with which we shall deal presently, the purpose can not be achieved without it. We have seen, however, how the desire to over-emphasize the holiness of a sacred water leads to the annihilation of every form of cooperation from man's side. This is pure instrument working without any direct contact between the subject and the result. The same idea is expressed in the story of a hunter climbing a tree and inadvertently causing Bilva leaves to fall on a Linga. He went straight to heaven.[2]

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[1] Zimmer, Myths and Symbols, 111.

[2] See Natesa Sastri, Hindu Feasts and Ceremonies, 89 ff.

The different Arccaṇais are grouped sometimes according to the kind of offerings to be made, sometimes according to the name of the god who will receive it, sometimes according to the ritual to be followed, and sometimes according to the result expected. This is particularily the case at Alakarkovil.

The three different numbers for reading the name of the god (108, 300 or 308, 1008) indicate a gradation which must imply grades of efficacy to suit different needs. It is the more so, because the Paṭṭar and not the devotee will be reading the names. Nowhere does the devotee perform the service himself. Even a garland must be handed over to the Paṭṭar or Pūcāri, who will hang it around the idol. Being present he can reverentially take part in the celebrations and salute the god, but as can be seen from Ramesvaram and Palni, his presence is not altogether necessary. An advertisement in a cheap edition of the Palni Sthalapurāṇa says:

"Our Lord Taṇṭapāṇi (he who carries his staff in his hand = Subramanyan) protects and saves his devotees. He will also protect and save you and fulfil your desires. If you send Rs. 10/ —, a special Apiṣēkam of the five ambrosias will be made in your name and Arccaṇai performed and Piracātam (Prasāda) sent to you. — Send your name and Nakṣatra with your address. Piracātam will be sent by post or by rail".

The following advertisement carries weight as an official document of Hindu outlook:

"Service to Hinduism

Announcement by His Holiness Jagadguru Śrī Sankaracharya Swamigal of Kanchi Kamakoti Peetam, re:organised duties to be performed in connection with Vyāsa Pūjā.

In your village, locality or near about your houses, if and when any person is dangerously ill and is in his or her last stage, while such a person is still conscious, give him/her the Prasāda sent by the Mutt (Mutt is anglicized Maṭam, Skt. Maṭha = monastery), Tulasī, Vibhūti etc. or any such divine Prasāda immediately available locally, and chant loudly 108 times the name of the Deity for the salvation of the individual in a state of collapse.

Everyone is desired to co-operate and take part in this holy cause of Hinduism. Those offering co-operation are requested to write for and obtain the detailed booklet and all particulars from

Tiruppavai-Tiruvempavai Committee, 20 Big Bazaar Street, Mayuram".[1]

The Prasāda and the name of the deity are instrumental in bringing salvation. Their efficacy is preserved at any distance from

[1] The Hindu, Sunday, July 20, 1952.

the temple. The instruction that the dying person must be conscious, while the Prasāda is administered to him, is likely to be in deference to Christian usage and meant as a shield against any criticism for "magic". It may also be observed that the advertisment pleads the cause of Hinduism as the reason for the cooperation by the public. The keeping up of the institutions of Hinduism is a guarantee for the welfare of society and the emphasis falls on that instrument, even when its use is recommended in individual cases.

The reasons for choosing this or that service and for paying attention to this or that god will have to be sought in the individual's predilections and interests. They are sure to refer to the need and object kept in view. Not only is this indicated in the list of Arccaṉai, but each god or temple has its special blessing to offer. The Paḻaṉiyāṇṭavar (the god at Palni identified with Subramanyan) cures diseases, Mukāmpāḷ of the big Śaivite temple at Tiruvitamarutur, Tanjore district, cures Piramatōṣam (insanity). People have to stay 48 days as regular patients.[1] On the top of the Tiruparankunram hill, 5 miles south of Mathurai, is the grave of a famous Muhammedan saint, Rukmani Hakim.[2] People visit the place to regain health and have to stay 10 days or 20 days as revealed to them in their dreams when sleeping in the open air on the hill. Hindus resort to this place as much as Muslims do. The Nagore Lord, another Muhammedan saint, receives offerings in the shape of parts of the human body made of thin silver sheet. They are given as thankoffering for cure of various ailments.[3] Māriyammaṉ is approached for help against smallpox. Salt is strewn in front of the many small shrines to Māriyammaṉ in Mathurai by people who have regained health. Milk and the water of the tender coconut is also used on such occasions.[4]

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[1] At my visit on Sept. 16:th 1950 I was informed that 20 "patients" were staying for cure.

[2] The local tradition says: Sikhandar and Rukmani Hakim.

[3] I found in 1950 eye, ear, nail, boil, stomach, tongue, head, hand and foot in hundreds. Cp. above 240, note 4.

[4] Illuminating this point is an article by Nanimadhab Chadhuri called: "Some Cure Deities", Indian Culture VII, 417 ff. His examples are taken from other parts of India but he mentions also Śāstā from South India, a god who is identified with Aiyaṉār in the Kāmikam (Madras ed. chapter 49, p. 793). Two Śaiva temples in Bengal are spoken of as places

The magician has clients but no congregation says Durkheim.[1] Temples also, however, have their clients. The Tiruvitamarutur temple Paṭṭar speaks of regular courses of treatment.[2] The individual visits to the temples regulated by tickets, are in many cases — and especially so in certain places of pilgrimage — part of a "treatment". At times of crisis there will in most cases be an acknowledged way of procedure. A vow has to be made to such and such a god of such and such an offering. The expectation of cure and help will certainly be qualified by many factors, but it will be there, at least as much as in the case of a patient in the hands of a doctor. Among certain groups of Christians saints are approached in similar manner. In the Mail, a widespread daily paper edited in Madras, help in various difficulties are gratefully acknowledged to the saints. A few examples are quoted coming under the general heading:

Thanksgiving.

"Church of St. Antony of Padua, Bowringpet, where I paid a visit and made an offering, for a great favour that I requested, was granted. Thanks to S. Antony of Padua". (19/11 1951)

"Sincere thanks to dear Sister Alphonsa for favour granted". (2/4 1952)

"My heartfelt and grateful thanks to the Kandal Cross for curing my daughter". (2/4 1952)

"Thanks to Blessed Pius X for granting mental cure, relieving stomach trouble and ridding the house of white ants". (3/5 1953)

"Delayed thanks to Sr. Alphonsa for securing good servant". (22/3 1953)

Very significant is the signature under one of them:

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where people seek cure of their diseases. There is a quotation from Risley: Tribes and Castes of Bengal, vol. I, p. 363: "Syphilitic eruptions are believed to be cured by dropping rice, sugar and curds over the Linga of Mahādeva, while dysentery and diarhoea may be cured by pouring water over it". He speaks of an "Itchgod" and a "Boil-god" in Bengal and then refers to Sītala, the smallpox goddess of northern India.

When the author calls this direct cure by the god, he overlooks the importance of locality and method of worship.

[1] Les Formes Elémentaires de la vie religieuse, 62.

[2] The Tiruviḷaiyāṭal, No 40 narrates how a Pāṇṭiyaṉ king was cured of an "incurable" disease at Tiruvitamarutur.

"My heartfelt thanks to Lady of Velankanni[1], Lady of Fatima, Infant Jesus of Prague, St. Anthony for the safe arrival of son-in-law, for his success in Exam. and daughter's and baby's safe journey & for other favours granted.

A Client."

The word client gives in a nutshell the whole story. The divine help is distributed through certain fixed channels determined by name and place. The approach is a matter of following instructions, which naturally imply a devote and sincere mind. In this case a man has tried it in various contingencies of life and found it working and is now eager to announce his satisfaction. Whether these acknowledgements have connection with customs in other countries is an irrelevant question. It is important to point out the close correspondence to the Viratam and Nērttikaṭaṉ[2], i.e. the vows behind the Arccaṉai. The Arccaṉai is either a request or gratitude acknowledged and at the same time an announcement that the method was successful. It is not thereby denied that real gratitude can prompt the acknowledgements.

2. Pilgrimages.

The efficacy of the temples, the sacred places or the gods is one reason for pilgrimages. I need not repeat that other aspects must also be taken into account to get a full understanding of a pilgrim's way. From this point of view South India is not outside the picture of Banaras nor of any other of the famous places of pilgrimage throughout India.[3] The Pouring of Ganges-water over the idol takes place daily from early morning almost continuously at Ramesvaram[4], and many travel up north not seldom with the idea of finding a final resting place in the Ganges. A black piece of thread is sold at the Bhairava temple at Banaras which will ensure the same

[1] Velankanni, five miles south of Nagapattanam on the east coast, is competing with Nagore, not far off, as a place of pilgrimage. The Roman Catholic priest showed me boxes full of silverpieces shaped after the ailing parts of the human body and also as objects of desire. A miniature railway engine had been given by a man seeking employment in the railways etc.

[2] See below 256.

[3] A Hindu lawyer went from Madras to Goa on pilgrimage to the grave of St. Xavier to obtain health for his grandson.

[4] Rameswaram and Holy Sethu, 28. Cp. above 241.

result to a person dying elsewhere as if he was breathing his last in the holy city.[1] A pilgrimage to Banaras is a cherished dream with a great many people, and quite a few people see the dream come true.

But South India has holy places enough within its own boundaries. Putting them on a list would practically mean mentioning every temple of importance, because at festival times they will attract big crowds of people. On such occasions the god or the function as such are of importance e.g. festivals to Māriyammaṉ at Virudhunagar, Dindigul or Olukamankalam (near Tranquebar). These places, chosen out of a great number, are ordinarily of no particular importance in this respect. The examples could be multiplied a hundred times. But many places retain a special sanctity all through the year, although in all places the festivals form peaks of importance.[2]

A pilgrimage is among other things a means to an end. The festivals take place according to Āgamic rules and local traditions. They have their own meaning, but the pilgrimage, even if it is timed and directed to fit in with a festival, is an affair of the individual. The time is chosen according to the Pañcāṅkam. It must be auspicious both for setting out and for completing the journey. The appropriate equipment is procured; to the Tirupati hill people

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[1] A pilgrim should visit the Kālabhairava temple and tie the string on his arm. This will stand him in good stead when he dies, because he will then have the same benefit as if he were dying a Banaras. Yama has no longer any right to punish him and Bhairava, under whose protection he is now living, will punish only 24 hours. Thus the temple priest explained the matter in October 1945.

[2] Not with a view to completeness nor even in order to give a comprehensive list but with the view of stressing the fact that places of pilgrimage are within the reach of everybody and of indicating the all-comprehensive aspect of festivals, some of the more important temples in the Tamil country are enumerated here: Tiruvottiyur, Tiruvallur, Mylapur, Kancipuram, Sriperumputtur, Tirukalukunram, Tirumayam, Tiruvanamalai, Chidambaram, Tirukoilur, Tiruvarur, Sirkali, Mayuram, Kumbakonam, Tiruvitamarutur, Nagore, Vellankanni (Christian), Srirangam, Palni, Mathurai, Tiruparankunram, Sriviliputtur, Ramesvaram, Tiruchenkotu, Tirunelveli, Kanniya Kumari (Cape Comorin), Kurralam and Sabarimalai (situated in Travancore but visited by large crowds of Tamilians). These places are scattered all over the area from Madras to Cape Comorin. Cp. von Glasenapp, Heilige Stätten Indiens, 75 ff.

walk dressed in a yellow garment; to Palni and other places sacred to Murukaṉ[1] they carry a Kāvaṭi on their shoulders, climbing the hill sometimes shouting "Muruka", sometimes under a vow of silence (page 223, fig. 5). In that way people carry milk, honey and other foodstuffs and various votive-offerings. — We have just heard of the silver objects shaped like parts of the body offered at Velankanni and Nagore. Such offerings are quite common. The god at Karumattur, the chief temple of the Piṟamalai Kaḷḷars, receives them. They are mentioned in the reports from Alakarkovil[2] etc. From that place other votary gifts are mentioned like a coir whip[3], with which the devotees lash themselves, and a water syringe, of which we had better let Mr. Radha Krishna speak himself: "A bag is formed out of the viscera of the newly sacrificed goat with a small narrow nozzled outlet ... This bag is filled with water. The devotee undertakes a vow of fast and prayer for a fortnight before the Chitra Pournima[4] and on the day when the Lord enters the river Vaikai at Madura, these devotees ... by pressing the bag of water syringe the water therein through the nozzle so that the water, so forced out, bathes the Lord, his Vāhana and the priest."[5] In April 1951 several dozens of men wearing these bags could be seen in Mathurai. They also went round the Vaṇṭiyūr Māriyammaṉ temple sprinkling water all the time. Most likely the explanation is to be found in references to fertility rites.[6] A similar custom is recorded from Karumatur, where women throw Pañcakavviyam, the five products of the cow, on the procession of Pūcāris and Kōṭaṅkis at the Māci festival. — Swords and billhooks are offered to Kaṟuppaṉ, tridents to Kāḷi and clay horses to Aiyaṉār.

In South India one often finds people with a silver wire round

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[1] The god Murukaṉ is identified with Subramanyan or Skanda. Reference may be made to Pattupāṭṭu: Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai by Nakkīrar. In old Tamil tradition Murukaṉ is chief of the desert tract and called Pālainilattalaivar, but he also belongs to the hilly tract and is worshipped on hill-tops. See above 135.

[2] Radha Krishna, 271.

[3] The Cāmiyāṭikaḷ (god-dancers) had whips when worshipping Pūkkuḻi Cōṇai in Mathurai 4:th October 1952.

[4] Fullmoon day in the month Cittirai (April-May).

[5] Radha Krishna, 269.

[6] Cp. Meyer, Trilogie, I, 25 ff. although Meyer does not record this practice.

their right ankle. They or their parents have vowed a pilgrimage to Palni because of illness, and one will wear a Kāppu when going on pilgrimage or taking part in a festival.[1] A fire-walker will tie a string round his wrist before fulfilling his vow at the Draupadī festival at Tiruvallur or at the Periyapālayattammaṉ festival at Putucattiram[2] near Madras or at the Māriyammaṉ festival at Dindigul etc. The head of a family will wear it during the days when he performs Pūcai at the Aiyaṉār temple at Cochidi, Mathurai. The Pūcāri serving Pūkkuḻi Cōṇai (Cōṇai of the fire-pit) in the Railway colony at Mathurai was always wearing a silver Kāppu because he was a Kuṟippucollupavaṉ (One telling signs).[3]

Winslow says about Kāppu: "A bandage tied round the arm in token of a vow for hearing a sacred book read at a temple, keeping a fast etc. serving also as an amulet for the time and as a monitory to practise abstinence and other required duties; to abstain from ceremonial pollutions etc. — also tied on the arms of a newly married couple for four days, who are to keep apart for the time — also on candidates for initiation by the Guru. — A string tied round medical plants with incantations to avert evil effect in their use." — This latter use is defined by TL in this way: "It is tied round medicinal plants with Mantras either by way of preserving them from injury, or by way of attenuating their pernicious effects before using them as medicines." This refers to Mūlikai (roots of plants used medicinally), of which we shall hear later.[4]

A religious promise is so to speak ratified by tying the Kāppu. It means protection from disturbing factors and placing a person in an exclusive position, but there is also the implication found in the expressions 'being bound for' and 'being bound to do it'. Even inanimate things can have Kāppu. The decorated pot which represents the deity at festivals or at the regular temples service[5],

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[1] See above 68, note 4 about Pavitra and also Kaṅkaṇam above 125. All the three serve a similar purpose.

[2] Witnessed by the author on 12:th August 1945 at Putucattiram, 20 miles west of Madras. See below 257, note 2.

[3] See above 59. Whitehead, 102 does not seem to understand the meaning of Kāppukkāraṉ when he says "a Pūcāri, called Kāppukkāraṉ". It means the Pūcāri who is by tying the Kāppu in duty bound to perform the ritual, *and* "protected from evil spirits" (op. cit. 100).

[4] See below 312.

[5] See above 176.

the Karakam, has a Kāppu from the time it is dedicated till it ceases to function when the gods are given a send off or the pot is thrown into the river.[1]

More details are found in the book Mūlikai Jālarattinam, from which we quote: "To remove curse from the Mūlikai (medicinal roots). Mūlikai of any kind must be approached on a prescribed day at a fixed time. One must tie the Kāppu and offer incense and light and read nine times. "Ōm Cakti curse, destroy, destroy etc.

"Giving life (or soul, Tamil Uyir) to the Mūlikai. If you want to give life to a Mūlikai you must go and clean the place where it is, and tie the Kāppu, offer Poṅkal (cooked rice), break a coconut and offer incense and light. Thereafter you must read 32 times: "Ōm Mūli, all Mūli, Thy life stay in Thy body, Cuvākā" (Skt. Svāhā) and take it. Unless you thus give life to the Mūlikai it is of no use".[2]

The Kāppu can be explained as a three-dimensional Yantra. It draws a circle round the person or the thing protecting it from outside disturbances and preventing power from leaking out. This is borne out by the two ceremonies referred to. The curse is kept out. The life (soul) is induced and held just as the deity is made to stay in the Yantra. In the language of popular Śakti conception, one might say that the all-pervading power is encircled for a special purpose into a small, limited area.[3]

The ceremonials of a pilgrimage may vary from place to place but most items are the same everywhere. The offerings have already been mentioned. One must not come empty-handed to the temple. A circumambulation of the temple, the hill or the city is the rule. The sacred tour around Banaras is marked on a map indicating also a number of holy stations, where the pilgrim has to perform ceremonies. Every pilgrim will acquire a copy of the map. In the Madras state, the Palni hill, the Tirukalukunram hill and the Tiruparankunram hill are all encircled by routes for pil-

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[1] The image itself can have a golden bracelet, Kaṅkaṇam, for the duration of a festival. See Whitehead, 105.

[2] VI, 12 and 13. See further below 277.

[3] Cp Caṉṉirōtaṉam, above 118. The word Kāppu is sometimes used for other means of protection and consecration as in Tailakāppu, "anointing an idol with fragrant oil" TL. Similarly the invocation of Kaṇēcaṉ at the beginning of all books is called Kāppu implying protection from all evil consequences of writing the book!

grims. They serve on a larger scale the same purpose as the Prākāras and Āvaraṇas in the temples.[1] The circumambulation, Piratakṣiṇam,[2] is a regular feature of a temple visit,[3] but it is of special significance at the innumerable Nāga shrines, where women walk round the "Tree-marriage platform" on Mondays in order to remove the effects of Carppa Tōṣam, i.e. no offspring. The effective means to remove this evil is, however, the performance of the Carppacānti[4] ceremony, viz. the dedication of a Nāga, Nāgapratiṣṭhā.[5] The Nāga is placed on a platform built around a tree-marriage.[6] The symbolism is obvious, the pipal is female and the margosa male.[7] The whole question of the Nāgas can not be taken up here[8] nor the matter of snake worship either.[9] I shall only mention one or two instances in support of the theory that the snakes are conceived as soulanimals and that the Carppa Cānti has connection with ancestor worship. At Vellore in the North Arcot district, south of the river, are some 50 Nāgas most of them under margosa trees. Although I have no records of it, this means surely tree marriages where the pipal trees have died. The place is also a burning ghat. The connection with ancestor worship seems to be obvious in this case. Crooke gives expression to the same idea from another part of India (The United Provinces).[10] — The second example is from East Gate,

[1] See above 112, note 3.

[2] Skt. Pradakṣiṇa, used by Kramrisch also in the meaning of ambulatory (op. cit. 255).

[3] Just as it is a part of the temple cult. The Lord of sacrifice is carried round the corridors. The ultimate origin of the practice might be sought in sun cult (See Goblet D'Alviella, ERE sub Circumambulation, vol. III, 657 ff.). Its present day significance is rather "to ward off sinister influences or to abstract propitious influences" (D'Alviella, o.c. 658). It thus comes very near the idea of Kāppu, to protect and preserve within a limited area the divine power for a special purpose at a certain moment. Kramrisch calls it "a communion by movement" (op. cit. 299). See further Monier Williams, Brāhmanism. 68 note 2, 145, 334, 415.

[4] See above 238.

[5] The ritual is given at the very end of the Kāraṇākamam as an appendix.

[6] See above 160.

[7] ERE XI:417.

[8] Cp. Monier Williams, op. cit. 321 ff., Crooke, Folklore, 387.

[9] Cp. Indian Antiquary, vol. XXXI, 328, Serpent worship in modern India. See also Crooke, op. cit. 383 ff.

[10] Crooke, op. cit. 388. Cp. also ERE, VI, 653 and Monier Williams, op. cit. 325, where he gives an example from the Tamraparni river in the

Mathurai. A tailor's widow installed in 1951 or 1952 a Nāga in front of her house on the pavement under a pipal tree soon after the death of her husband. She did not say, when questioned by me, that the Nāga was her husband, but one can hardly explain her action as snake-worship.

A few scattered examples do not prove anything but they indicate the possibility of a certain explanation of the circumambulation around tree-marriage platform studded by Nāgas. There is the fertility symbolism both in the snakes and in the trees, and the ancestors are represented who can re-enter life as children.[1] — Examples of such circumambulation are too numerous to warrant quotation, but one instance may be given. On Friday the 29:th June 1945 several women walked round such a platform in the Poṉṉiyammaṉ temple, Egmore, Madras. They applied saffron paste to the Nāgas and kept camphor burning in front of them.

A pilgrimage is mostly the result of a vow. Something is wrong, or some danger is threatening, or some good things, highly desired, are missing. Again there are other motives for going on pilgrimage originating in a general atmosphere of piety and devotion and communal and social loyalty. But very often the tour to the holy place is undertaken with a definite objective in view. Any temple-visit may be of that kind.

In small village temples and shrines Pūcai is generally performed on Tuesdays and Fridays by way of minimum service. A Pūcāri is in charge and paid for his service. The public turns up only at festivals but individuals may bring some offerings at the weekly services. Their action is called Pirārttaṉai (Skt. Prārthanā). They have something on their mind, for which the help of the gods is sought. The word is translated in TL: 1) Prayer, supplication, 2) vow, 3) worship, prayer, rite. In this connection it means a supplication accompanied by a ritual, which consists mostly in bringing some offering to the deity. The Pūcāri of the old Periya Karuppaṉ temple at the northern approach to Mathurai told me (14-9 1952) that people used to bring one of five different offerings,

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Tirunelveli district, which is similar to my example from Vellore. One might wish to know where the burning ghat is. In any case it may be the custom to throw the ashes of the dead in the river at that place.

[1] Cp. Meyer, Trilogie, III, 231 "Nun aber sitzen die Väter in der Erde" with reference to serpents.

or, in his language, five different Viratankaḷ, viz. coconuts, cooked rice with sugar, Apiṣēkam of milk, the five ambrosias and camphor with light. Usually a tray with a coconut, a few plantains, flowers and burning camphor is handed over to the Pūcāri, who rings a bell and waves it in front of the god and gives it back to the worshipper after he has thrown some flowers over the idol. The least of a ritual performed by the worshipper is an Aṣṭāṅka Namaskāram, or prostration so that eight parts of the body touch the ground (five parts for women, Pañcāṅka Namaskāram) or touching one's left ear with one's right hand and one's right ear with one's left hand while curtseying three times. People will not think so much of pleasing the deity as they will be urged by a feeling that it must be done; it is the appropriate thing to do, otherwise the temple-visit will yield no result.

3. Vows and Votive offerings

Often the aim of a temple visit is to make a request. In the temple one has not only the advantage of being close to the gods, within earshot so to speak, but there is also a beneficial atmosphere which will aid the prayer. This is further increased when the temple visit is carried out in full accordance with all rules of appropriate conduct, which comes easily to mean efficacy. To mention just one instance: A schoolmaster went on pilgrimage to Palni. He had been transferred to a place far away from his home. At Palni he smeared his body with yellow paste and observed all the rules enjoined on pilgrims, and he was convinced that thereby he would effect a change in the transfer to a more convenient place nearer home.[1]

But more often the temple visits are made on vows. They mean the fulfilment of promises to "see" the gods and to bring them the appropriate offerings, which were promised at the time of crisis. Apart from the words Pirārttaṉai and Viratam (Skt. Vrata) the most common term in Tamil is Nērttikaṭaṉ, which means both 'vow made to a deity and offering in fulfilment of a vow' (TL). The meaning has to do with a sense of what is appropriate, just, straight, from the Tamil root Nēr. At the time of a crisis a man promises to do something appropriate to the god or the occasion. Fire walking is the appropriate thing to perform in honour of

[1] Interviewed in person 1953.

Draupadī[1] or Māriyammaṉ.[2] The right thing for a person suffering from disease is to make a pilgrimage to Palni and offer milk to the Lord of Palni, Paḻaṉi Āṇṭavar. His relatives may carry him while he is still ailing, but more often he will promise to do it after recovery. As a rule the 'debt' (Kaṭaṉ) is cleared after the loan has been received. Cutting, or rather shaving one's hair as Nērttikaṭaṉ is the proper thing to do at Palni. Aḻakar at Tirumaliruncolai (Alakarkovil) receives the same offering. To Muttaiyaṉ at Cochidi, Mathurai, the hair is shaved off to pay for recovery.[3] In some cases it coincides

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[1] Draupadī is in South India an Ammaṉ, a common village goddess, worshipped in much the same way as Māriyammaṉ. See Oppert, On the original inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa, 97. At Tiruvallur, Chingleput district, she is having Arjuna at her side but also Mahāviṣṇu and Potu Razu (Cp. Elmore, 12, 17, 90, 92, 105, 140 and 152). The real male partner of the same origin is, however, Dharma Rājā (Yudhiṣṭhira). He is common in the South Arcot and Tanjore districts, e.g. outside Vaiticuvarankovil, Tanjore dist. and Mayuram. — Young men used to walk on fire at Draupadī's temple, Tiruvallur. For a rather unusual reason it was stopped during the second great war. It conflicted with the rules for black-out!

During the festival of Draupadī, South Marret street, Mathurai, the Pūcāri walks on fire. Also at Nagapattanam, Stokes, Ordeal by fire. IA, II, 90.

Cp. above 252, note 2. For literature see Meyer, Trilogie, I, 191. Cp. also Rawcliffe, The psychology of the occult, 291 ff.

[2] See Whitehead, 93. At the festival to Māriyammaṉ, Dindigul in March 1953, I saw the fire pit about 6 to 7 feet long and 3 feet broad. — On 12:th Aug. 1945 about a dozen young men were being prepared for the ceremony at the Periyapālayattammaṉ temple at Putucattiram, 20 miles west of Madras. They had sandal-paste smeared all over their bodies and crowns of flower garlands on their heads. Their hands were lifted up in Añjali position and they had a lime fruit in the mouth and were carrying paper birds (the parrots of Māriyammaṉ) in their hands, cooked rice and coconuts were offered to Periyapālayattammaṉ ("Otherwise she won't come", one in the crowd remarked). While the helpers shouted and drums were beaten furiously, one after another of the twelve men became stiff and then subject to convulsive movements. They were immediately seized and held fast and somebody made stitches with a needle and thread on both sides of their bodies. — Later they had a bath and were dressed in yellow garments. This was all in preparation for the firewalking, which was to take place later. The men had all made a vow to walk on fire with a view to recovering from some illness.

[3] In some cases mourners (usually the eldest son) shave. Cp. Crooke, 230 (with reservation for the explanations offered). Crooke says it is uncommon in the North. I have seen it in 1937 at Amayanayakanur, Mathurai district.

with the Cūṭākaraṇam ceremony.[1] — Clay horses to Aiyaṉār (and Kaṟuppaṉ and Muttaiyaṉ)[2] are dedicated sometimes by individuals, sometimes by the whole village. Bill hooks are given to Kaṟuppaṉ with a view to securing his protection.[3] That means the debt is paid in a manner suitable to the occasion. Similarly Toṭṭils (cot for a baby or a doll) are given to Māriyammaṉ, to Kāḷi, even to her terrifying image in the hall in front of Cōmacuntara sanctuary at Mathurai, to Maturaivīraṉ and to many others. Scores of them can be seen hanging in a tree behind the shrine to 'The helpful Māriyammaṉ' (Tuṇai-M.) on the Tamil Sangam Road, Mathurai. They are sold in the front hall of the Mīṉākṣi temple and will mostly be given when the vow is made. They are reminders to the deity of the help expected whether given before or after the help is received. It is a course to be adopted by barren women. Gifts given on account of a vow and consisting in figures in silver of the ailing part of the body are still more clearly of an instrumental character.[4] As was already stated large numbers of these can be inspected at the shrines of the Nagore Lord,[5] the Lady of Velankanni and also at the shrine of

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[1] See above 180 and cp. Stevenson, 20, where the necessity of going to a particular place for the ceremony is noteworthy.

[2] Cp. Dumont, Aiyaṉār, 255 ff. A temple half a mile off the road between Melur and Alakarkovil had 450 clay horses in 1952. On 25/11 1951 six horses were carried in procession from Arapalayam to Virattupatti to be dedicated to Aiyaṉār and Kaṟuppaṉ. All in the Mathurai district.

[3] Cp. Sandegren, op. cit. 124 and 151, Radha Krishna, 270.

[4] Two women, mother and grandmother, went round begging carrying a small baby with them. They were also bringing a small tray with a pair of silver feet. The child had been born with deformed feet and the parents had promised to arrange for a feeding of poor people in the hope that the feet would become normal. Money to meet the expenses would have to be collected by begging, although they could have found the money in other ways. The silver feet they were to give to the temple. This happened in August 1942 at Tiruvallur, Chingleput district. There was a similar occurrence in Madras in 1943. Again two women came. Twins had been born eleven days earlier. They had not yet opened their eyes or straightened their limbs, and therfore the women carried round eyes made of silver and a small silver sheet on which the babies were depicted. They had to beg from nine houses and then proceed to Nagapattanam and give the money and the silver pieces to Vēlāṇṭavar (Subramanyan) and Nākammā (the goddess of Nāka-Paṭṭaṇam, Nāka-serpent-Lady). Cp. above 240, note 4 and 249, note 1.

[5] The tomb of Shah-al-Hamid, 1532—1600, Arnold, The preaching of Islam, 267.

Vēlāṇṭavar (Subramanyan) at Nagapattanam. This corner of South India offers places of pilgrimages with similar effect of cure in the name of three different religions, Islam, Christianity and Hinduism. While Muslims and Christians as a rule go to their own places, Hindus will frequent all the three. For our aim to trace rituals of instrument and purpose, such examples are of equal interest wherever we find them.

The difference between a request and the fulfilment of a vow is not always clear. As a rule a specific offering such as a cradle, a clay horse, silver imitations of sick parts of the body, are made on promise, but they may also accompany a request as a "reminder" of what help is sought for. In fact the divine help is directed through this means to a specified purpose. Otherwise people resort to the common lightservice (Āratti, Tīpārātaṉai) and offer flower garlands, when they make a request.

Two eyewitness accounts of temple visits for a special purpose may add life and details to the investigation.

On the twentieth February 1942 a pair of bulls (oxen) were brought to the Mūṅkaliyammaṉ[1] temple near the Trivellore railway station, Chingleput district. One of them was not eating properly, and for that reason the owner sought the help of the goddess. They were kept tied to a tree near by, while the people were cooking rice (Poṅkal). When the food was ready, the owner smeared turmeric and saffron on the foreheads, horns and humps of the bullocks. Then he took two garlands of margosa leaves and placed them somewhat carelessly on the steps in front of the shrine. He then brought the bullocks and put the garlands over their horns. They were then taken round the shrine three times and the people made Pirārttaṉai to the deity offering light and incense.

The presence of the bullocks and their besmearing and garlanding are noteworthy signs of an instrumental use of the divine.

On the 9:th august 1942 the same temple was visited by another group of people consisting of a family with married daughters and sons and grandchildren. The village musicians were engaged to play and Poṅkal was prepared in three pots, two earthenware and one of brass. The head of the family told me that his son, who had recently married, had fallen ill. Some of his brothers had died of the same disease. That day was a Sunday, and he told me that a fortnight earlier also on a Sunday they had been advised by their Guru (They said he was a Maharṣi from olden times, who spoke invisibly through the son and the daughter-in-law, when they were dancing) to ask which deity was angry and to make a vow that they would worship her. They

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[1] Or Mūṅkilammā "The Bamboo-lady", "A fierce goddess", said the Pūcāri.

had continued the dance and the deity spoke. She was Kaṉṉiyammaṉ (the "virgin-lady"), but at the same time their deceased brothers and relatives had told them that they must offer Pūcai to them. Accordingly they had made a vow (Viratam), and now a fortnight later they were fulfilling their promise.

The man and the woman, the latter hardly able to walk, she was swinging to and fro and stepping backwards and onwards while two women supported her, went to a well close by and had buckets of water poured over them. Then they returned and went round the shrines of Mūṅkaliyammaṉ and the Kaṉṉimār.[1] The whole procedure was repeated three times. Meanwhile the Poṅkal was ready and offered to the Kaṉṉimār, a little rice, curd and fruits on seven leaves in front of their images. When this was done some rice and other offerings were also brought to Mūṅkaliyammaṉ. Now the Pūcāri came on the scene. There was a small quarrel; either he scolded the people for not calling him in, or they scolded him for not coming in time.

The musicians began to play. They had a double-drum (Mirutaṅkam, Skt. Mṛdaṅga) and a tambourine but no flute. The Pūcāri performed Pūcai to Mūṅkaliyammaṉ and gradually the woman began to dance again with the same movements, going round in a circle and swinging her arms up and down. She was given a stick and some margosa leaves. The people standing around began to shout and sing calling out the names of various deities. The Pūcāri spoke and the others joined in a chorus. The music stopped for a while and people began to ask the woman: "Who are you?" No answer was given and they began to scold each other: "She is angry with the Pūcāri for letting people wait from four till seven. Yes, she is not angry with us. She is angry with the Pūcāri". After a while they began to ask her more questions, the Pūcāri again leading: "Who are you? Who else will come?" (I could not understand all they said). At last she began to speak, very softly: "I am Kaṉṉiyammā". The crowd had just before she spoke, cried out: Govinda, Govinda[2] and, while she was dancing, they now and then sprinkled water on her. She now wanted to go over to the place where "her own" altar was, and the crowd followed her. Here she sat down on the ground while a man poured a big vessel of water over her. She then rose again and answered more questions. "Who will come next?" — "Nākammā" — "Why are you causing this trouble?" — "You have not worshipped me" — "We are doing it now. Will this worship be accepted?" — "It will" — "Right" — Now the Pūcāri asked her to stop. She took a plate with burning camphor and waved it before the image of the Kaṉṉimār, danced wildly and fell on the ground. "Now she died", the people said.

[1] The seven virgins, common throughout the Tamil country as attendant deities to Aiyaṉār or any important village goddess but rarely having a shrine of their own. Cp. Whitehead, 98 and Elmore, Dravidian gods 12 ff. They are represented either by seven bricks in a row or by seven images in relief on one stone slab. Cp. also Whitehead, plate VI.

[2] This name is used very often as a call on many occasions in village temples, at funerals etc. without any apparent connection with Kṛṣṇa.

Then the husband started dancing. He moved to and fro and sat on the ground tilting his head up and down. He was given some margosa leaves, rose and danced and was soon ready, much quicker than his wife. The same question was put to him: "Who are you?" First he did not answer but demanded more music. After a while he said: "I am Nākammā".[1] He then said that Govinda would come, but to the house. People then collected their offerings and went home, the musicians playing and the couple dancing.

I have narrated the incident just as I noted down my observations on the spot, and I add a few impressions from the same date. They (the accompanying people) were shouting and laughing sometimes. They did not mind my presence, but invited me to see the Vēṭikkai and Tamāṣ (both words mean spectacle of fun). The whole thing was done without much serious faith as a thing they did perfunctorily. The dancing couple looked sad but appeared to be acting as much as they were really carried away by the spirits.

The story should be taken as a typical instance of individual worship with a view to obtaining a boon or averting a calamity. Although the efforts to find out the cause and remedy of the evil by means of possession occupy the major part of the proceedings, the main point is a performance of Pūcai as the means to an end. The way in which the people learned of the right cause and the correct remedy is the way of the Kōṭaṅki and Cāmiyāṭi.[2] Spontaneous and direct as the connection with the divine powers appear to be, one must not overlook the fact that the peculiar disposition or gift and divine choice of the man and his wife was instrumental in bringing about the required information. People knew how they could get to the bottom of the problem, and their behaviour shows that they were rather practical about it. The attitude of many people in the present changing conditions in India is indicated by the reference to these ceremonies as Vēṭikkai, but it is more correctly interpreted as an apology for their own seriousness in the matter.

The two instances narrated above did not imply a long journey of pilgrimage, but they belong to the group of occasional visits to certain shrines. The trip undertaken may be short or long, it is qualified through its choice of place. The place need not be a temple or a sacred hill. In front of No. 1 Madavakkam street, Kilpauk, Madras the road branches off into two streets like a fork. On

[1] Note that a female deity is descending on a man. This was expressly admitted by those present on my inquiry.

[2] See above 223 ff.

Sunday, the 5:th September 1945 Tarai Poṅkal was performed right at the spot were the two roads branch off. There were present an old woman, a mother with her baby and a little boy to help them. They dug a little pit, 2 inches deep and cooked rice in a tiny pot. Ready at hand were some other ingredients: flowers, a thorn apple fruit, a lime and a coconut, three one-pie coins, Navatāṉiyaṅkaḷ (nine kinds of grains. They had as a matter of fact brought only five, but they called it Navatāṉiyam,) and then there was also a lizard, which they kept tied to a stick. When the rice-pot was boiling, the mother sat down with her baby on her lap facing east. The old woman set fire to a piece of camphor and waved it three times round the head of the child. She did the same with the other ingredients, and lastly the pot also was waved in the same way. She then threw everything in the pit. After that they cut the head of the lizard, applied some of its blood to the forehead of the child, waved the carcass three times and threw it likewise in the little pit. Rising up the mother took three steps forward and backward over the pit and went away without looking back. Her child was suffering from epilepsy, and this was the way in which they hoped to cure it. I watched the same performance on the same spot in August 1945, October 1946, November 1946, and January 1947, always on Sundays, for which Jagadisa Ayyar offers an explanation, when he says: "Similarly a chameleon has miraculous magical properties in its tail on Sundays, and people cut it on those days, dry it in the sun, enclose it in a cylinder formed of goldleaf and hang it round a child's neck to ward off the evil influences of spirits etc."[1]

The ceremony described is a sacrifice to the earth (Tarai, Skt. Dhārā). The place is carefully chosen as suitable for such performances. It is marked, if not sacred. Preparing Poṅkal and waving burning camphor are regular features of temple worship. Although word (Mantra) and prayer are conspicuously absent we are still on the ground of rituals at chosen places, whither people resort on pilgrimage at times of need. The time is also chosen in keeping with the general rule for pilgrimages. One has to meet the huge crowds gathering at Maylam, S. Arcot district, or miss the overcrowded trains during the annual festivals at Nagapattanam to understand the importance of time limits for salutary blessing.

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[1] Jagadisa Ayyar, Festivities, 27.

4. Sacrifices and festivals

Festivals and more elaborate ceremonies of a public character, celebrated apart from the regular festival calendar, are means of avoiding, mitigating or removing calamities. The rituals, described in detail by Bishop Whitehead[1] and followed at the annual festivals, will also be adopted when circumstances motivate particular attention to the gods. Whitehead mentions at least one occasion on p. 65: "When an epidemic of cholera breaks out etc." It is a very common occurrence. The annual festivals are sometimes neglected for want of money, but an epidemic or some other calamity and also a good yield of the crops will occasion a festival to be held. The Cakkili[2] community of Virattupatti, 3 miles west of Mathurai celebrated a festival to Pūkkuḷi Cōṇai (the Cōṇai of the fire-pit) on the 4:th October 1952. They walked in procession to his old temple inside the Railway Colony at Mathurai, where he is represented by a stonepillar, four feet high. They spent the night preparing Poṅkal and returned to the village the following day. First came the Pūcāri from another temple at Pappakuti on the northern side of the river. He was followed by the Cāmiyāṭikaḷ (god dancers), one representing Cōṇai and the other Malaicāmi (the lord of the hill), whom people identified with Aḻakar (Viṣṇu residing 12 miles north of Mathurai). Then came the other villagers carrying two wooden boxes containing the dresses of the Cāmiyāṭikaḷ and one big vessel full of cooked rice. Coming back to the village they placed the boxes and the vessel on a platform which was the place where Cōṇai rested when he visited the village. They all partook of the food. — These rough outlines of the festival are less interesting than the reason they gave for holding the festival. They had not worshipped for five years, but of late Iṭaiñcal (difficulties, hindrances) had befallen them. This is a very simple and common ground for holding the festival.

Another example is taken from the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai I follow my own notes taken down on the occasion.

On August the 6:th 1952 the following note appeared in the Madras Mail: "Prayer for rain. Mr. K. K. Menon, Executive Officer of the Menaksi temple has arranged for daily prayers to God Varuṇa for rain". — The prayers were conducted on the 8:th August in the southern Prākāra (arcade) of the Golden Lily tank, where a space of about 15 by 8 feet had been screened off with ropes. The floor was decorated with Kōlam (ornamental design

[1] Whitehead, 35—47 and 89—111. [2] The leatherworkers.

made with white powder).[1] At the centre of the design was a Kumpam, a silver pot containing about half a gallon of water; it was placed on a bed of Navatāṇiyaṅkaḷ (the nine kinds of grain); white strings were tied around it representing "sinews of the body",[2] and it had mango leaves at the top "representing the head".[2] A green scarf, a flower garland and a coconut completed the decoration. A bundle of Darbha grass, Kūrccam, was lying at the side of the pot. "It is for keeping away Rākṣacar" or, as another informant said: "*Iṭaiñcal varātapaṭi*" (so that there shall be no obstructions), but this popular interpretation is anyhow not the whole truth, because the Kūrccam represents the deity and plays a part in the ritual.[3] Seven, eight Brāhmans were seated along the wall with the chief Paṭṭar in the centre and one of the Cāstrikaḷ on his right side. The Paṭṭar alone had Uruttirākṣam.[4] — The ceremony began with music and hymns of Gnanasambandar[5] sung in the Maṅkaiyar hall, a pavilion on the western side of the tank. "The tune will attract the clouds, just as we sing a lullaby to a baby".[6] A section from the Mahābhārata would be read, the Vrata Parvan, when the five Pāṇṭavar were living in disguise for one year. The whole ceremony was called Parjanya Śānti.[7] The ritual which followed corresponds to the rites of the daily worship in details. It began with Āvāhaṇam or invoking Varuṇa to be present in the pot (Kumpam). The Paṭṭar then performed Pūcai to it and the Cāstri chanted Jepam. All the Brāhmans joined in the chanting. The Paṭṭar made a Pavitra and threw some grass on the Kumpam, lit camphor and rang a bell at intervals. The chanting went on for an hour, sometimes at increased speed. Afterwards the Brāhmans, i.e. Paṭṭar and Cāstrikaḷ went down into the tank and while they were standing in the tank, water from the Kumpam was sprinkled on them. The ritual was repeated during eleven days.

Apart from many details of an instrumental character, the Pavitra, the nine kinds of grain, the prolonged chanting, the sprinkling of water etc., the whole ceremony, the Varuṇa Cānti or Varuṇa Jepam (as it is also called), is a means of securing rain. The administrative power orders the resort to this means of overcoming an acute shortness of water. The special need decides the

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[1] See below 275, note 1.

[2] According to a local informant. One recognizes the usual vessel for sacred service called Kumpam, Skt. Kumbha, or Karakam. Cp. above 145 and 176. The strings are tied as Kāppu.

[3] Cp. above 108, note 2.

[4] Skt. Rudrākṣa, nuts from Eleocarpus ganitrus worn as sacred beads in rosaries by Śaivas (TL), lit. the eye of Rudra.

[5] Gnanasambandar, one of the four Śaivite Bhakti singers. He was closely connected with Mathurai. Cp. above 163.

[6] These were the Cāstri's words.

[7] Parjanya, the Vedic raingod. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, 226.

choice of a god, who is otherwise not worshipped.[1] Similar ceremonies are recorded from Mathurai again the same year beginning from the 30:th September and from Tirunelveli and from Bangalore. From Bombay a notice in the Madras Mail for the 26:th September says: "Hundreds of women and girls in Navsari town and adjoining villages are bathing idols in temples with water, drawn by them from wells, in order to propitiate the rain god."

The Koṭum Pāvi ceremony serves the same purpose. The Koṭum Pāvi is a scapegoat or as TL puts it "Straw-effigy representing the most heinous sinner, dragged through the village streets in time of drought and burnt to expiate public crime and bring rain." Miss M.M. Frost gives an account of the custom from Tirunelveli district.[2] It was practised in some places during 1951 and reported in the daily papers. — Miss Frost writes: "The dummy culprit, railed upon and beaten, is dragged through the streets; a bier is prepared as for a funeral and the barber blows the conch before it. Full funeral rites are performed; some member of the community has to take upon himself the office of chief mourner, have his head shaved, receive a new cloth, carry the water-pot to be tapped and broken. Finally the dummy is buried or burned. His death is supposed to remove the curse and bring rain." The AC[3] ascribes the ceremony to the Paṟaiyar[4] group: "Cukraṉ (Venus) leaves his own place and goes to a concubine, and for that reason rain does not fall. The Paṟaiyaṉ makes a substitute for the concubine as a Koṭum Pāvi of sand and straw, places it on a carriage and drags it through the streets for seven or eight days. Then the Veṭṭiyāṉ (One who cremates corpses: TL) cuts its head off and performes the funeral rites to Koṭum Pāvi. The concubine of Cukraṉ is ashamed and sends Cukraṉ back to his own place. Then rain will fall".

The close resemblance to similar ceremonies in other countries as

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[1] In a small village, Venkattakuricci, near Paramakudi, Ramanathapuram district, there is a platform dedicated to Varuṇa Bhagavān. It is completely empty and used only occasionally for similar "prayers for rain". Apart from that single instance the author's notes comprising information from at least 600 temples and shrines in the Tamil country has no other reference to any shrine or temple to Varuṇa.

[2] The Pilgrim, Vol. III, No. 3, 84 ff.

[3] A.C., sub Paṟaiyar.

[4] Paṟaiyar, "drumbeaters", "one of the 18 subcastes rendering service in a village", TL.

Greece and Palestine is obvious. The ERE does not take into account the Indian material[1], but Crooke gives some examples of scape-animals although not of this particular ceremony.[2] — We must leave the subject here and confine ourselves to the statement that the Koṭum Pāvi ceremony is one means of averting calamities. There is very little trace of guilt; the Paṟaiyar transpose it to the mythological sphere. The effect of the method is due to its correct performance. Full funeral rites must be performed.

We find easily a number of occasions for special rites and festivals to be performed and celebrated in the interest of the public when something is amiss. Of more general purpose is the Great sacrifice to the goddess (Devī Mahā Yajña) in Tanjore, of which one reads an account in the Madras Mail for the 12:th December 1951:

"The recitation of the 7:th crore (=ten million) of Arccaṉai (offerings to God), out of the 10 crores of Arccaṉai being conducted at Śrī Kāmākṣi Ammaṉ temple here, will begin on Wednesday.

This Devī Mahā Yajña, which began on Jan. 19:th 1947, was organized by Śrī Kāmākṣi Ammaṉ Lakṣa Cahasra Arccaṉai and the One Crore Homa Committee (i.e. a hundred million Arccaṉai to Kāmākṣi and ten millions Homa ceremonies) to invoke the blessings of Śrī 'Deva Matha' for peace, plenty and prosperity in the country and for restoration of communal harmony.

The offerings consist of 10 crores of Arccaṉais, one lakh of Lalitā Cahasranāma Arccaṉai (offering the chanting of 1008 names of the Amorous or Beautiful One=Kāmākṣi), 10 crores of Śrī 'Vidyā Japa', one crore Homa, one million Tarppaṇa and lighting, poor feeding, 'Kanyā, Suvāsinī' (maiden and married woman) and 'Avarna' (Probl. Āvaraṇam=covering see above 112) Pūjās. Arccaṉai, Japa and Pūjā are carried on here daily without break since 1947.

This Mahā Yajña needs about Rs 300.000 for completion on a moderate scale. This Yajña was undertaken twice before.

The Organisers have appealed to the people to contribute liberally for the successful completion of Mahā Yajña".[3]

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[1] ERE, vol. 11, 218 ff. Cp. Nilsson, Geschichte der griechischen Religion, I, 97.

[2] Crooke, Folklore 61, 100, 128, 131, 140, 142, 275, 301. Cp. also an incident of goats in Monier Williams, 227 and Lembezat (above 169, note 6) who wants to find traces of human sacrifices for similar purposes in the annual festival of a temple near Karaikkal.

[3] There was evidently no proper response to the appeal, because in Jan. 1952 the honorary secretary began a fast for an indefinite period, because the services were proceeding at a very slow pace owing to lack of funds (The Mail, Madras, 24/1 52).

There are no ideas in the mind of the performers or of the people that this massproduction of Arccaṉai should in any way be related to the mood or attitude of the goddess. It is on the one hand a pumping the storage tank full to the brim of beneficial essence. and on the other hand an increase (in absurdum) of the instrumental power so as to leave no chance open to failure. The immensity of what the performers are purporting to achieve warrants the proportion of the instrumental power.

The Varuṇa Jepam, the Tarai Poṅkal, the ceremonies with the Koṭum Pāvi, and similar performances give much room for study of associations of ideas and traditions of effective elements, a study, which cannot be attempted here. The Devī Mahā Yajña is a rite which has more or less lost its contents and become mechanical ritualism, where the aspects of instrument is stripped of all associative elements. Even so an undertone of piety rings through the appeal, accentuated by the drastic step taken by the honorary secretary along the recognised line of personal sacrifice, which places this eminently mechanised instrument in the sphere of religion. There is all the time a reference to a third factor, the goddess Kāmākṣi.

5. Māntirīkam

a) *Māntirīkam and Mantiravātis*

We find an opening into another realm of rituals resorted to at times of crisis in the words: Māntirīkam, Cālam or Cālavittai and Pillicūṉiyam. Māntirīkam means that which has to do with Mantras. It covers a vast set of practices in which the reading of Mantras plays an important part. Cālam or Cālavittai, sometimes Māyacālam or Māyavittai, means the art of a conjurer or of an illusionist and is mostly meant for entertainment. A fight between two wizards, called Mōṭivittai[1], is a fairly common show in the villages. This will not concern us except for details of method. Pillicūṉiyam is "black magic". The Tamil Lexicon connects Pilli with Sinhalese Billi and translates: "1) Sorcery, 2) demon in the service of sorcerers."

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[1] Mōṭi or Makiṭi is a Dravidian word meaning arrogance or display (TL). Lack of space prevents us from reporting on such performances. The reader may refer to Miles, The land of the Lingam, 246, where such a competition has been recorded from the neighbourhood of Coimbatore.

Cūṉiyam (Skt. Śūnya) may have got its meaning of witchcraft (TL) from Buddhism.[1] Pillicūṉiyam is regarded with disgust and hatred. Those who practise it are much feared, and I have been told that the police in Madras keep their names on record.

Māntirīkam can be the practice of anybody who is willing to submit to the rules. Printed handbooks are available in the book-shops and can be had from the book-hawkers who display their stock in trade on the pavement. The ceremonies prescribed are effective under anybody's hand provided they are being properly performed. As a general rule, however, Māntirīkam is in the hands of professional people. They are known as Mantiravāti or Māntirīkar. A performer of Pillicūṉiyam is called Pillicūṉiyakkāraṉ. Sometimes the Pūcāri is known to handle these things. Cālakkāraṉ is a conjurer and Cittaṉ is a man who has wonderful powers at his command.[2] Mantiravātis or Māntirīkars are people who read Mantras and perform the rites prescribed for them. Mantiravāti is the most common word for such 'practitioner' at the service of people in need. He is found in most villages and towns. Certain castes take more readily to the profession than others, e.g. the Paṇṭāram group,[3] who often serve as family priests in villages. Mantiravātis are not seldom Muhammedans. It is often a hereditary profession but not always. Mr. M.S. Duraisami Aiyar, a Brāhman from Ammangudi, Tiriccirappalli district,[4] informed the author that he had learnt 10,000,000(!) Mantras from his Guru, a blind man living at Palghat (on the west coast), whom he met by chance. — In the village everybody knows where the Mantiravāti lives; in towns he advertises, as will be shown below.

The Pūcāri serves occasionally as Mantiravāti, e.g. the Pūcāri at a small temple to the goddess Ūttukāṭṭampāḷ near Elephant Gate, Madras. A priest of the fairly big temple to Aṅkālammaṉ,

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[1] Bhattacharyya, Buddhist Esoterism, 26.

[2] "Siddhi is produced by Sādhana" — "A person is Siddha also who has perfected his spiritual development" — "The various powers attainable — namely Aṇiman, Mahiman, Laghiman, Gariman, Prāpti, Prākāmya, Īśatva, Vaśitva (see below 270) ... are known as the eight Siddhi" Thus the Siddha is described by Woodroffe, Introduction to Tantra Shāstra, 152. Siddhi means success, achievement and is the result of Sādhana (from Sādh= accomplish), the general term for all practices in Tantric religion.

[3] See above 181, note 2.

[4] The "Poison King", see below 322.

who is a goddess of greater prominence, Vepery, Madras, also offered to read Mantras. Generally speaking the Mantiravātis will not perform Pillicūṉiyam. The priest of the Aṅkālammaṉ temple refused to have anything to do with it, and the same attitude was taken by the Pūcāri at the Ūttukāṭṭampāḷ temple. When Mr. Duraisami was asked if he would do it, he smiled and said: "No, but I can stop it".

The worst form of "black magic" is killing, Māraṇam. It is one of the eight Karmas, Aṣṭakarumaṅkaḷ. They are: 1. Vaciyam= bringing under control a person, spirit or deity (TL), 2. Mōkaṉam= the magic art of fascinating a person, (TL), libidinous fascination, (W), 3. Tampaṉam=the art of arresting and paralysing (TL); stopping the powers of fire, the flowing of water, the ferocity of beasts; making a spirit or person stand immovable and depriving him of the power of speech (W), 4. Uccāṭaṉam=driving away, expelling an evil spirit; incitement of an evil spirit to cause injury (TL, similarily W). In Skt. Uccāṭana means 'ruining, causing to quit by magic' (MW), 5. Ākarṣaṇam=summoning or invoking an absent person or spirit visibly into one's presence (W), Skt. Ākarṣaṇa in Tantric texts the same meaning (MW), 6. Vittuvēṣaṇam= creating hatred between persons (TL), Skt. Vidveṣaṇa, 7. Pētaṉam (Skt. Bhedana)=causing discord between persons (TL) and 8. Māraṇam=causing death by incantation (TL).

It might be of significance that there are in Tamil no traces of attributes defining these Karmas as such as malevolent or as sins. Hillebrandt[1] refers to them or similar practices as Ābhicāra or Ābhicārikāṇi Karmāṇi, which means "employment of magic spells for malevolent purposes"[2] There are six of them according to Hillebrandt, who quotes Goldstücker (Dictionary Sanskrit and English), where they are given from the Tantrasāra[3] as Māraṇa,

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[1] A. Hillebrandt, Rit.-Litteratur, 174.

[2] Apte, s.v. Cp. Woodroffe, Introduction, 101. "When performed for a malevolent purpose (Ābhicāra)" They are different from other, accepted rites, because they must be performed in the wrong direction, i.e. from right to left, Hillebrandt, op. cit. 174, but otherwise there is nothing to distinguish them from the ritual. Cp. Caland, Altindische Zauberei, III.

[3] "A Hindu Tantric work composed by Krishnanada Agamavagisa in the seventeenth century of the Cristian Era", Bhattacharyya, op. cit. 84. "Dates from 1812", Farquhar, Outline, 355.

Mohana, Stambhana, Vidveṣaṇa, Uccāṭana, Vaśīkaraṇa.[1] In Tamil dictionaries they are simply referred to as the eight Karmas, but manuals give sometimes eight, sometimes six. In "Sarvadevada Vasyam"[2] Vidveṣaṇa is exchanged for Ākarṣaṇa. In other books Ākarṣaṇa, Vidveṣaṇa and Bhedana (the latter two with the same meaning) are added, thus making the number eight.[3]

Sometimes the eight Karmas are called the eight Cittis[4] but they are a different set namely: 1. Aṇimā (Skt. Aṇimān)=the power of becoming as small as an atom (Apte and W.), 2. Makimā (Skt. Mahimān)=the power of increasing size at will (Apte and W.), 3. Lakimā (Skt. Laghimān)=the power of assuming excessive lightness (Apte), overcoming gravitation (W.), 4. Karimā (Skt. Garimān) =the power of increasing weight (W), 5. Pirātti (Skt. Prāpti)=the power of obtaining anything (Apte) "such as to touch the moon with a finger" (W),[5] 6. Pirākāmiyam (Skt. Prākāmya)=irresistible will (Apte), power to overcome natural obstacles and ability to go anywhere (W), 7. Īcattuvam (Skt. Īśatva)=supreme dominion over nature (W), 8. Vacittuvam (Skt. Vaśitva)=subjection and bewitching (Apte), the power of enchanting (as Vaśya and Vaśīkaraṇa), changing the course of nature or assuming any form (W).

The list from Sāṅkhya Kārikā[6] (Cp. also Patañjali, Yoga Sūtra, III:45) quoted by Monier Williams as well as by Apte omits Karimā[7] and adds Kāmāvasāyitā, which means power of suppressing desire (So MW).[8] Sometimes a greater number of Cittis are mentioned. A

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[1] They are the "Tantrika Ṣaṭ-Karma" (the six acts of Tantrism) the result of certain Tapas (austerites). See Woodroffe, Introduction, 101, where Śānti takes the place of Mohana.

[2] See below 305.

[3] HaricCuvaṭi, (V), 26.

[4] Studied in the light of psychology by Lindquist: Siddhi und Abhiññā, and Die Methoden des Yoga.

[5] From Vyāsa's scholia to the Yogasūtras of Patañjali, III:45: "*Prāptir-aṅgulyagrenāpi Spṛśati Candramasam*".

[6] See Farquhar, op. cit. 129.

[7] Garimān is found with another commentator, Bhoja. (Cp. Lindquist, Siddhi and Abhiññā, 7).

[8] Bhattacharyya translates: "Capacity to will actual facts" (?) op. cit. 83. The author probably wishes to render in that way 'Yatra Kāmāvasāyitvaṁ Satyasaṃkalpitaṃ', which according to the commentary of Vacaspatimisra to Patañjali Yogasūtra III:45 means 'fulfilling the purpose of one's will, e.g. a Yogi takes poison to be ambrosia, and it becomes ambrosia to him.

reference should also be made to the 64 arts or branches of science called Kalai (Skt. Kalā).[1] They, as well as the Cittis, are more technical expressions of acquired power and skill than they are of practical use. It is different with the Karmas. They play an important part in popular belief as we shall see. The Cittis are connected with Śiva and controlled by the eight representations of his Śakti. Their images line the entrance hall to the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai, which is called Aṣṭa Siddhi Maṇḍapa, although it should properly speaking be 'The Hall of the Eight Śaktis'. They have different names and have different boons and powers in their command. On the basis of a description in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[2], Jagadisa Ayyar presents them as "Padma" who gives prowess in warfare and wealth; "Mahāpadma", who gives command over all precious gems; "Makara", who shapes the character of the individual and secures him success in military operations; "Kaccapa", who brings success in business undertakings; "Mukunda", who "develops in the individual fine aesthetic instincts"; "Nanda", who secures crops in plenty; "Nīla", who favours all sorts of enjoyments and "Śaṅkha", who brings self-realisation and eternal bliss.[3]

In this form they are called Niti (Skt. Nidhi), treasures, and the eight Śaktis are having other names, but Jagadisa Ayyar does not make a clear distinction between them. His account is of special interest as it shows how the power in popular opinion is a means to acquire whatever man can wish to obtain. With the word Niti the emphasis has slightly shifted and lies on the storage of wealth of various kinds, which the man of such and such Śakti (power) has accumulated for himself. The Cittis are acquired through austerities and magical rites, says Winslow.

"It is mainly at the crises, periodic or occasional that the need to draw on supernatural sources is felt."[4] When ordinary means of help is insufficient, there is need for what Marett calls 'super-causation'.[5] One can certainly point at a craving for new possibilities and a refusal to accept the limitation drawn by obvious facts. It is human so to react, and one rarely finds a man in India who is

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[1] See W.s.v. and above 103, note 3.
[2] Cp. Farquhar, Outline, 139, 150, 356—7.
[3] Jagadisa Ayyar, Festivities 79—80.
[4] Marett, ERE, vol. VIII, 250.
[5] Ibm.

not apt to resort to "super-causation" at times of grave crises. We have seen them go on pilgrimage and seek help in the temples. Another way is to turn to a professional Mantiravāti.

At Wallajabad, some 40 miles west of Madras, people call the Mantiravāti in case of illness and ask if there is a chance for the patient to recover. He makes no assurance but promises to do his best for a reasonable compensation. He then goes to his own house or a hiding place, where nobody sees him. If the patient dies, he will say: "I tried my best, but life was too weak in him." The villagers may very well know that his help is useless, but they dare not leave him out, not because he will do them any harm, but because they will have a bad conscience for not having tried every possible means — a feeling which will not unlikely be inflated by the Mantiravāti.[1] — At Tirupacur, Chingleput district, a Mantiravāti takes four different kinds of fruit, waves them around the sick person and leaves them at the road side. If a kite picks them up, the patient will recover.[2] At Sirkali, Tanjore district, a boy was bitten by a snake. A Mantiravāti was called. He waved a bunch of mango leaves over him and murmured some Mantras. A Brāhman from a temple near Tirukalukunram, Chingleput district, did the same over a goat. In every village similar incidents occur.

A more complete picture of these practices can be had from professional people in towns advertising on sign-boards, of which we here give some examples.

> "The Nagore Lord's House for Maṇimantirauṣaṭam.
> The Nagore Lord is our help."

Brothers and sisters are very quickly and surely cured of such evils as flatulence, undernourishment, demon (Pēy), evil spirit (Picācu), sorcery (Pilli), spell (Ēval),[3] black magic (Cūṇiyam), charm (Vaippu)[3] fraud, madness, mental derangement and other things caused by Tēvatai.[4]

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[1] My informant is cook Ponnudas from Wallajabad.

[2] My informant is a dhoby from Tirupacur.

[3] Ēval and Vaippu are technical words for laying spells. The first word means 'command', 'instigation' and also what is commanded, viz. servants. The second word means deposit and depositing. Cp. AV XIX:9:9.

[4] Skt. Devatā. This word in Tamil means deity and demon or evil spirit (TL). The latter sense is noticeable in expressions like Tēvataikkuṟai, lit. deficiency of a god, "disease due to possession by an evil spirit" (TL) and Tēvataittoṭarcci, lit. followed by a god, "possession or obsession by a demon" (TL). — See further 279, note 3.

For diseases connected with men and women (six kinds of venereal diseases are enumerated) 'root' (Mūlikai)[1] -medicine will be given. Tuberculosis, excessive phlegm, asthma, cough, and mysteolites will be cured without diet with medicine only. The nine kinds of fistules and piles, polypus, boils, throbbing pain (Kaṭuppu, TL) and gonorrhoea with discharge of blood, all these are cured without diet through medicine only. Children are cured of all kinds of infantile diarrhoea and convulsions and also Tōṣam[2] (threatening the child) in the womb through medicine. The nine different Tōṣaṅkaḷ, which threaten children, and the malign influence of the planets are treated free with Mantras, if you put a quarter anna piece in the Nagore Lord's collection box.

For cylinder with amulet (Tāyittu)[3] the price is Rs 0—9—4.

For string with knots the price is Rs 0—5—4.

Dr. (Muhammedan name)"

The signboard was displayed in Madras in 1945. The Nagore Lord is the Muhammedan saint buried at the famous place.[4] Maṇimantirauṣaṭam is a technical term indicating three ways of treatment: 1. Touching with precious stones (Maṇi), 2. reading Mantras and 3. distribution of medicine (Skt. Auṣadha).

Another signboard from Park Town, Madras reads as follows:

"Malayāḷa Mantiravāti Haji Muhammed Menna.
By the grace of God, children and adults are cured through Mantras and medicines from spells and charms and evil attacks. Every disease is cured through Mantras and medicines. Astrological calculations are made for children; Mantras are read and strings with knots on are tied on. Amulets and Tāyittu are given".

Outside the small temple of Ūttukāṭṭampāḷ, near Elephant Gate, Madras, the Pūcāri advertises:

"Śrī Ūttukāṭṭampāḷ is our help.
Here Linga is being attached with the reading of Mantras for all sorts of propitiation of the malign influence of the planets, also against the malign influence of the planets on children (Pālakirakatōṣam, which has come to mean an inflammatory diarrhoea of infants [TL]), Kuḷitōṣam, Paṭcitōṣam, Tēraitōṣam, and worries caused by demons (Pēy), evil spirit (Picācu), spell, 'Forest demon' (Kāṭṭēṟi, "insubordinate" spirits (*Aṭaṅkāta-*), Jaṭāmuṇi

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[1] Cp. above 252.

[2] For Tōṣam see above 216 ff.

[3] The word Tāyittu is derived from Urdu Ta'it and means "a small gold or silver casket worn on the person as amulet", TL. Usually it contains a sheet of copper with a Cakkaram. By boys it is worn tied to a string round the waist, by others round the arm.

[4] See above 258, note 5.

(a god worshipped by the shepherd caste, Kōṉār)[1] as well as for fever, headache, stomach pain, and women's diseases like excessive menstruation and poisonous insects.

Visiting time 6—9 A.M. and 5—8 P.M."
(Hindu name)

Opposite the northern tower of the Mīṉākṣi temple at Mathurai, Mr. Jatacami has his consulting room and private dwelling. It opens out to the main street and has several signboards announcing the ailments that can be cured. Jatacami is a nick-name given him by people because he is wearing clotted hair.[2] In 1949 he was wearing his hair all clotted with earth and made into thin tresses. His beard is arranged in three long strips. He is a Malayali[3], was 56 years old in 1949 and had come to the Tamil country at the age of 25. — He has two rooms, one inside the other. Clients are allowed to enter the outer room only, which is full of common pictures of gods, mostly Subramanyan as Mayūra Piriyaṉ (he who loves the peacock) but also Kaṇēcaṉ and some goddesses. There are also many pictures of Jatacami himself in Yogic postures. He takes food only once a day. His father had some means, and he was not a Yogi. He has spent many years visiting places like Curulimalai, Mahalinkamalai, Cabarimalai, Trimurttimalai and Cittarmalai, all places where hermits have their abode. At Cittarmalai, near Salem, he had spent 90 days doing penance (Tapas).

He did not mention any particular Guru and had not joined any Maṭam (monastery). He belonged to the Civa Matam (religion, sect). — Paḷaṉiyāṇṭavar (Subramanyan at Palni) had given Cattiya Vārttai (The word of truth=the effective formula, the Mantra) to the people of Malabar, he said.

Over the entrance to the inner room were two pictures, one of

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[1] Jaṭāmuṉi — "a kind of demon", TL. This does not recognise his real position. According to W. he is "the soul of a Brāhman in a Muṉi wearing clotted hair" Jaṭāmuṉi has at least two shrines in Mathurai, in the Cokkakkottanar street and in the Jaṭāmuṉi road, near the Mīṉākṣi temple. He has the common retinue of 21 gods and is worshipped by the shepherd Caste (Kōṉār). He is thus a god of some standing.

[2] Skt. Jaṭā.

[3] Māntirikam is often called Malayāḷa Māntirikam indicating its origin from the point of view of the Tamiliạns. "Malayāḷapakavati is Durga as the patron deity of sorcery and magic", TL.

Subramanyar Yantiram[1], a hexagon in two concentric circles, and the Śrī Cakkaram.[1] "The first thing I do in the morning is to look

[1] Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography I:1, plate A 11 and 161. Cp. plate 36 in Zimmer, Myths and Symbols. Cakkaram and Yantiram are both ensigns of instrumental character not clearly distinguishable. Monier Williams calls them "mystical diagrams" (Brāhmanism, 203). Among the Yantras the Śrī Cakra is the most important (Srinivasa Rao, Tirupati, 45).

The diagram is generally called Cakkaram in Tamil, although the word Yantra is used occasionally. Jagadisa Ayyar distinguishes the one from the other: "Cakras and Yantras are two kinds of engravings on metal plates, the former consisting of angles and petal-like parts, and the latter of triangles alone, either single or in combination or interlacing in different ways" (Festivities 135). He is evidently thinking of the Śrī Cakra, which then should be styled as a Yantra in a Cakra. This distinction is not upheld in the manuals of Māntirīkam. W. gives to Cakkaram apart from the meaning of wheel, disc, circle, the meaning "diagrams of various sorts for predicting events" (sub voce). Apte has no similar meaning for Cakra. Yantra is the word used in Sanskrit. In the Pāñcarātra the Rakṣā and the Yantra (the former means protecting amulet) have been given seven chapters (O. Schrader, 122) where they are described and their merits stated. They are also treated as objects of meditation (Yantra Devatā). Woodroffe declares Yantra to be a diagram worshipped in the same manner as an image. The Yantras are of various designs according to the object of worship. (Introduction to Tantra Shāstras, 92) Zimmer explains the word (Myths and symbols, 141 ff.) as a machine — curiously enough he avoids the expression 'instrument for controlling' which is the logical outcome of his comparison of the word with Khanitra, 'instrument for digging' — and in Hindu devotional tradition as "the general term for instruments of worship, namely, idols, pictures, or geometrical diagrams". He continues: "A Yantra may serve as 1) a representation of some personification or aspect of the divine, 2) a model for the worship of a divinity immediately within the heart ... 3) a kind of chart or schedule for the gradual evolution of a vision, while identifying the Self with its slowly varying contents, that is to say, with the divinity in all its phases of transformation. In this case the Yantra contains dynamic elements".

In this posthumous book of Zimmer no sources are given to support the correctness of his interpretation. We note that it can be a representation of the divine, in which case it is hardly an instrument but an object of worship. This corresponds to the expression Yantra Devatā and the use of the Yantra-Cakkaram in practices of Māntirīkam. Naivēttiyam and incense are offered to it. But the words 'instruments of worship' are significant. The author says further on "that a Yantra is an instrument designed to curb the psychic forces" (op. cit. 141). This is in keeping with the common understanding of the meaning of Yantra-Cakkaram. It is a constraining instrument, whereby

at these two. Pūcai is not necessary in my religion. It is so strong", he said. He had acquired his skill through Tapas. Ṛṣis, who know

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the deities or the divine are controlled and brought into an controlable and effective presence.

The Māntirīkam books contain a great variety of Cakkaraṅkaḷ from simple triangles and squares to elaborately drawn figures. They have all letters inscribed, which the Śrī-Cakra has not. This seems to be an important difference. — The Cakkaram may make a weird impression, but it is not without beauty and always geometrically arranged. One is reminded of the saying of Rudolf Otto about early Chinese religious art: "Nun ist aber dieses Magisches nichts anderes als eine verheltene und abgeblendete Form des Numinosen und zugleich ein Rohform desselben" (R. Otto, 90). Cp. literature on such designs in the West as Howland, Material toward a history of witchcraft, and Budge, Amulets and Superstitions.

Looking at these diagrams one is reminded of the practically universal custom of drawing similar designs on the floor in front of the housedoor. On festival days especially the Kōlam, as it is called, is drawn the first thing in the morning by the women of the house after they have swept the ground and sprinkled it with water. Letters are as a rule not inserted in the Kōlam-design. During Mārkaḻi, that is the inauspicious month from December to January, the big yellow flowers of the Paraṅki (Macaragua Indica) are placed in the Kōlam. According to one of my informants (P. Andrew, Orattur) this is meant to assist the sun in regaining strength. Kōlam is also drawn to form a Maṇṭalam for worship of Kaṇēcaṉ in the practice of Māntirīkam (II:5). Originally these designs can not have been purely ornamental, as they surely are in most cases today. The care with which they are drawn on certain days and the custom prevalent in the month of Mārkaḻi warrants the statement that they have a protecting value. They are effective through the intricate but regular play of lines, which have a restraining power just as the Cakkaraṅkaḷ. Some information applicable to South India may be had from Tapanmohan Chatterji: Ritual decoration in Bengal, published by Orient Longmans Ltd, Calcutta, year unknown. Various explanations of this custom have been proposed. John Layard refers to a book published by Rangasamy Mudaliyar and Sons, Madras, 1923: "Megalithic culture elements", where Kōlam is considered to be "an early conception of the labyrinth as an important accessory to the attainment of future life and consequently of success in this world" (Layard, Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs, 116).

Layard compares the Southindian designs with Malekula in Indonesia. The designs in South India are formed of a single, never-ending line called Pavitra and 'Brahma-Mudi', he says. That means a "symbolic escape from the physical as well as from the spiritual labyrinth" (op. cit. 139). He also says the Śrī Cakra has its origin in the labyrinth protecting the goddess represented by a dot in the centre. So far Layard.

Pavitra (see above 68 note 4) as a ring is surely a never-ending line.

by means of Jñāna Dṛṣṭi (the sight of wisdom) had instructed him about Mūlikai (the medicinal roots). He observes silence on Mondays, when his "shop" is closed.

People come to him and ask for help in their troubles. He gives them Mūlikai taken from the hills. Mantras are not necessary, he said. But the Mūlikai is treated as follows in his own words: One must remove the curse and give life and pray for the dedication of breath (Pirāṇa Piratiṣṭai Jepittal)[1], perform the daily prayers, i.e. the daily ritual of the individual, offer Naivēttiyam (to the Mūlikai) and take the Mūlikai without touching iron.[2] The Mūlikai is always given in a Tāyittu[3], never in the hand. For snakebite he reads a Mantra to Nīlakaṇṭaṉ (Śiva).[4]

Mr. Tankavelu Tampiran, another Mantiravāti, said he used to sit outside the shrine of the goddess near the shrine of Kaṇēcaṉ when he was reading Mantras and preparing amulets. "If a person takes off the Kuḷicam (the same as Tāyittu), it must not be allowed to touch the floor", he said. "One must hang it on the wall or on a tree."[5] Such Kuḷicaṅkaḷ are also hung on houses when the malign influence of the planets is prevalent.

Another man said that he believed in God's help and that his practice was confined to the distribution of medicines, which he

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Piramamuṭi is a knot on the Pavitra (TL). There seems to be very little support for the meaning attached to these words by Layard. The application of the names to the Kōlam lines must be secondary. The ideas of setting apart, keeping pure, and of protection are foremost in people's mind as far as the word Pavitra is concerned.

Jagadisa Ayyar maintains that the Kōlam must be drawn in flour and is meant to serve as food for the ants, an explanation which is obviously invented by a puzzled mind (Jagadisa Ayyar, S. Indian customs, 82 ff.). — It is true that the Tamilians use flour for writing Kōlam, but they also use red ochre naming them Māvukōlam and Kāvikōlam respectively. That they play a similar part to Yantra-Cakras is supported by a reference to the usage in the Telugu country where they are used in worship of benevolent deities if drawn by women and otherwise by "Tantrikas and magicians" (Gode, History of the Rangavalli (= Tamil Kolam) between A. D. 50 and 1900, 245).

[1] Cp. similar practices in temple ritual. Above 115.

[2] Cp. below 313.

[3] See above 273.

[4] Interview 14:th Aug. 1949.

[5] See above 184.

prepared himself. If he said, however, that he did not believe in Mantras, people would not come to him for help! If people asked him to kill a person with his art, he would say: "To do that one must also be able to raise a person from the dead. That is impossible, and so I cannot do it — get away!" When he is asked to find lost things, he takes a child and makes it sit down in his room of worship (Pūcai) and look at a lamp. The child will then through his help be able to tell where the lost thing is to be found. Another way is to give the clients some ink prepared from a medicinal root. If they take it home and apply it on a betel leaf or a lime, they will be able to find what they have lost.

He had two rooms, one inside the other, just as Jatacami. His clients are received in the first room, which is the bigger of the two. In the inner room, opposite the entrance door there is a place of worship to Subramanyan, whose picture is on the wall. There are also pictures of Chidambarasami, a Hindu saint who lived about the middle of the 18:th century and Sai Baba, the well known saint and prophet from the Bombay state.[1] On an altar in front of Subramanyan were two conches, a water pot, a small spear of silver, a thin copper sheet, on which the Pañcākṣaram was engraved (the five-letter Mantra, usually Na-Ma-Ci-Vā-Ya, praise to Śiva). On a tray were lying small pieces of metal sheets, cylinders and square medals for making Tāyittu and other amulets. There were also two bracelets; they were hollow and contained small sheets of copper with Cakkaram engraved. They are supposed to bring about easy delivery and are worn by women during pregnancy. The Mantiravāti told me that amulets of this kind will last three, five or seven years but seldom for lifetime. There were also peacock feathers used for fanning while reading Mantras.

In the smaller inner room he will be alone. There was another altar with pictures of Mīṉākṣi (the great goddess at Mathurai) and Kaṇēcaṉ on the wall. On the altar was a triangular platform, which he called Navagrahaśānti, appeasement of the nine planets. If the client ascribes his disease or troubles to the Grahadoṣa (malign influence of the planets), a Cānti or propitiatory ceremony must be performed. It is the business of the astrologer to find out if Grahadoṣa is at the root of the evil, and if so, the man has to go either to

[1] See Narasimhaswami: Śrī Sai Baba's Charters and Sayings.

the temple to worship the Navagrahas or to a Mantiravāti, who will perform the same kind or a similar kind of Pūcai to the Navagrahas. — The Mantiravāti said that people of all groups and castes were coming to seek his help, even educated people. A Government clerk had asked for his assistance to get his application granted.

The Mantiravātis are not in opposition to religion. On the contrary they are keen and serious in worshipping their Iṣṭa Devatā, on whom they depend for their success. Their ritual corresponds in many details to items of ritual followed in the major temples. The aim of their practice, to render help to people in distress, is also a recognized objective of temple worship. Their training is generally considered to require some form of Yoga or control of their own body and mind. They are private 'practitioners' and they are recruited from all strata of society. Of their mental attitude some words have already been said.[1] The most conspicuous part of their practice, however, is the use of instruments.

b) *Māntirīkam rituals*

We can learn more about Māntirīkam from printed handbooks. Some of these form a very inferior type of literature and are written in poor Tamil, but perhaps these very products of a literature, fairly unknown outside their area of distribution, tell the tale most faithfully. They belong to popular religion, which is different in many respects from the lofty systems of the established sects.

In as much as these books are rarely found in libraries[2] a description of their features and contents is necessary. Eight such books, picked up here and there, are taken into account. For convenience's sake they are numbered I—VIII and references will be made to these numbers.

The full title of No I is Cakala Tēvatai Vaciyam Eṉṉum Malayāḷa Māntirīka Haricсuvaṭi, An ABC of Malayāḷam Māntirīkam that controls (Vaciyam) all gods[3] (Tēvatai). It was printed in

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[1] See above 22.

[2] Some of them are found in the Tamil Sangam library.

[3] On page 227 above is shown how all gods can be called in by the Kōṭaṅki and brought under control. In spite of a certain amount of deference to the greater gods the tendency goes towards equal treatment of them. The fundamental experience of "possession" dominates the relationship between man and god, obliterating not only the distinction between god and demon

Madras 1943. The author is S.V. Nateca Mutaliyar, whose portrait is given on one of the titlepages. Opposite him is a picture of the

but making for but a slight variation of the divine appearance indicated by different names. This is the reason why a word like Tēvatai can be translated both 'deity' and 'demon'. The difference is not so much in the individuality of the superhuman being as in the valuation of the particular experience of "possession". Some people discard the experience as possession of demons, whereas other people derive their chief idea of the divine from that experience.

A distinction is maintained, however, between an individual and a class. The Kōṭaṅki is always anxious to know the name of the "agent". Preferably it must be a well known name covering a certain individuality, characterized through relationship to other known beings of a certain set, through recognized mode of worship, and through other features. — If there is no name and no familiar references, it is an evil spirit, i.e. an interference of 'power' originating in a class. These are Pēy, Picācu, Pūtam and Rākṣasa, all conceived as of an evil disposition. Rākṣasa is more of a literary style. For the Pūtas (Skt. Bhūta) one may compare Arbman, Rudra 179, where he sums up as follows: "Der Ausdruck Bhūta wurde verwendet, teils von Dämonen insgemein, teils in engeren Sinne von irgendeiner Klasse dämonischer Wesen. — Göttliches Wesen niederer Ordnung und böses Wesen, der dem Worte in der modernen Terminologie zukommt, mag der Ausdruck sein, welcher Bhūta am nächsten entspricht". Pūtam means often a ghost, the spirit of a deceased person, Pirētapūtam. Cp. Crooke, Folklore 190 ff.

These beings have no individuality and no individual names. Pēy and Picācu are not represented by idols, not even in the crudest forms as a brick or stone. A Rākṣasa or Pūtam may stand between the forelegs of Aiyaṉār's horse as a small human figure grimly grinning. On the other hand anything, a cat or a dog or even a human being can be taken for a Picācu if warranted by his mode of appearance.

When man is possessed by a Pēy or Picācu, it is considered to be an affliction and the prescriptions of Māntirīkam aim at driving him out. Sometimes the spirit is made to speak. He is made use of before he is chased out.

A Tēvatai is in fact different from a Pēy or Picācu. Within the Tēvataikaḷ there are ranks, however. The lowest rung of the ladder is occupied by females, who come very near to the Pēykaḷ, like Pēcci, Piṭāri, Kāttēṟi and perhaps also Kuṟaḷi. They may, however, be represented in shrines. That is often the case with Pēcci for example in the Mathurai district. Accordingly they are also objects of Pūcai, at least sometimes. But still they are more of a species than individuals. On top of these stand the "unclean" gods (Acutta Taivaṅkaḷ, distinguished from the "clean" gods through their liking for animal sacrifices (cp. Dumont, Aiyaṉār 255 ff.). They are generally of a fierce temper. In the south Durga is one of them, although she is a benevolent goddess in Bengal and also sometimes in the major temples (In the Mīṉākṣi temple flowers are offered to her by close relatives of people in dying condi-

six-faced Subramanyan riding on a peacock with his two wives. The book has a number of illustrations mostly of diagrams (Cakkaram). It opens up with the Piḷḷaiyār Cuḷi, the curl or loop of Kaṇēcaṉ, a propitiatory mark made at the commencement of any writing (TL). The next word is Civamayam, which is an invocation meaning 'Śiva in essence' and it stands for 'All to the glory of Śiva' (TL). It is used by Śaivites and in this way we know to what sect the author belongs.

Next comes a verse in praise of Kaṇēcaṉ as usual. He is here addressed as Kaṭavuḷ, a word sometimes[1] (wrongly) taken to mean an individual god, whereas it actually is an appellative, which can be used in connection with the name of any particular deity e.g. Cōmacuntara Kaṭavuḷ=The god Cōmacuntaraṉ, Subramanya Kaṭavuḷ, The god Subramanyan etc.

The book contains 44 Mantras to be used on various occasions. Each Mantra is followed or preceded by a description of how it should be read, how many times it must be repeated, what kind of Cakkaram should be drawn, what ceremonies must be performed and what result it will have. Each of these fourty-four chapters has a heading. Sometimes this refers to the god involved e.g. "The Basic Mantra of Viṉāyakar" or "The Cakkaram of Pattira Kāḷi" or "Meditation (Tiyāṉam) on Hanuman". More often the purpose of the Mantra-reading is expressed in the heading "Mantra for preventing husbands and wives from becoming separated" or

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tion). Others are Black Kāḷi, Pattira Kāḷi, Muṉiyāṇṭi, Kaṟuppaṉ (the Black god), Nīli (which means darkblue and is an epithet of Kāḷi), Māṭaṉ etc. These gods and goddesses have images that are fairly fixed in type and features and they have a tradition of stories attached to them.

The real village gods are the many "ladies" with the word Ammaṉ attached to their names, Māriyammaṉ, Kāḷiyammaṉ, Teruvitiyammaṉ, Vempuliyammaṉ, Ōcurammaṉ, Periyapālayattammaṉ etc. etc. Pēcci and the females of the previous group may sometimes have the same epithet, and the border line is not clear. Māriyammaṉ and Kāḷiyammaṉ are found everywhere. Others have names from their chief village or from their functions as goddess of the street etc. Some of these have fixed iconographic representation and can be recognized by their attributes.

The clean gods such as Aiyaṉār, Kāmākṣiyammaṉ etc. belong more or less to the recognized pantheon. Kāḷi can be found almost in every group, a sure indication of the part played by experience and mental attitude in fixing the gods.

[1] Sandegren, 158. A full treatment of the subject is desirable.

"Mantra to obtain audience with royal persons" or "Mantra to obtain pregnancy", "To remove birdevil (Paṭcitōṣam) from children" "Mantra to cure sprain", "How to catch fish", "To drive away Bhūtas and Rākṣasas etc. — When that is not so, one is informed at the end of the prescription of the benefit one can have from reading the Mantra.[1]

The first chapter has the heading "The Yantra of Kaṇēcaṉ". A picture of the diagram follows. It consists of a hexagon in two squares, the one outside the other. These are again inserted in a third square. In the triangles formed the following syllables[2] are written Ōm Am Im Maṅg Cing Vaṅg Yaṅg.[3]

"This is how it should be read:

Draw the Cakkaram given above on a tray with sacred ashes (Vipūti, Skt. Vibhūti).[4] Place betel leaves and areca nuts, plantains, jaggery, fried rice and Bengal gram on it. Light camphor and incense. In that smoke the Mantra must be read."

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[1] The connection between purpose and method or Mantras is often very loose, sometimes not existing. This is according to Caland (Altindische Zauberei, IV) an indication of a younger and secondary stage. In the Kāmyeṣṭis (sacrifices to obtain things wished for) the connection is loose, whereas in the rituals of the Atharva Veda the stanza of the Mantra prescribed is generally in direct keeping with the result expected. Blomfield says in his introduction to the Atharva Veda: "Many times, though by no means at all times, the practices connected with a given hymn present the key to the correct interpretation of the hymn itself" (Hymns of the Atharva Veda, LXXII).

[2] The Yantra is not only a means of restaining the gods but also an instrument for the gods to be present. This double attitude qualifies the attitude of the Mantiravāti. He has means of control at his disposal, but he and his instrument are also a 'point d'appui' for the divine. In order to bring the balance of power in his favour the word Vaciyam is added as in the formula *Pījākṣara Yantiraṅkaḷaṭaṅkiya Carva Tēvatāvaciyam* = Control (Vaciyam) of all gods contained in the Yantras and the Bījākṣaras. (IV:4). The gods may have chosen the Yantra as their form of manifestation. In itself it may not serve the Mantiravāti until he has mastered the art of Vaciyam. — Here the restraining instrument is the 'seedsyllable', Pījākṣaram.

[3] For the monosyllabic Bījas see above 71, note 2 and below 288.

[4] Vipūti or Tiruniṟu, the burnt ashes of cowdung sacred to Śaivites. The Caivaviṉāviṭai has a separate chapter dealing with this sign of Śiva, which it is compulsory for all Śaivites to wear on their bodies. It contains rules for how it must be prepared and used. Skt. Vibhūti means might, dignity and also "superhuman power" (Apte), which consists of the eight Siddhis. So also W. Vibhūtipāda is the name of the third chapter of the Yoga-Sūtras.

The Mantra reads: 'Ōm Aiyum Kaṇapati Kiliyum Kaṇapati come my Guru. As all the world is in thy hands, let all the enemies come into my hands Svāhā'. It must be repeated 108 times.

The letters should be entered in the Cakkaram under worship of Śiva.

Write this Cakkaram on a sheet of five-metal and enclose it in a Tāyittu of gold, silver or copper. All who wear it will have success in all their undertakings."

"Removing 'bird-evil' (Paṭcitōṣam) from babies.

On a sunday morning one should take a root from a palmyra, smear it with yellow ochre and make it clean in water and then place it on a salver. A five-coloured thread should be tied around the root and incense presented to it. Then one should repeat this Mantra 108 times: 'Sing Krīm Ōm Śrīyum Savvum Aiyum Svāhā'. If the root is then put in a small casket (Kuḷicam) and tied round the neck of the child with a black string, all evil will disappear."

That was a prophylactic method. There follows immediately a description of the remedy, should the evil already have befallen the baby.

"One should mix three measures of rice with a little pulse (Phaseolus mungo) and after boiling it in a pot one should make a dough of rice boiled in a new pot and then place a leaf of the Erukku plant (Calotropis gigantea)[1] on a flat pan and make a figure like a child of the dough and make three holes in it and pour some ghee in them and light it. One should then adorn it with yellow, white and red flowers, five kinds of flowers, and move a lemon and an "Anumattan" fruit (Xanthium orientale, which causes intoxication) around the child and then place them on the figure and again move the whole thing nine times around the child. Afterwards one should go away without meeting anybody and put it on a desolate spot. If one then wipes the body of the child with a cloth dipped in water and well wrung out, all evil will disappear. If it is a male child, one must make a female doll and if it is a female child, it must be a male doll."

These examples are illustrative of the contents of the book. The model is repeated with slight variation.

No II. The front page of the second book has under the Piḷḷayār Cuḻi an invocation as usual: "Parācatti Tuṇai, (Parāśakti) is our help (or come to our help)." Its title is

"An ocean[2] of Malaiyāḷa Māntirīkam called the powers of the gods (Tēvatācitti)". It claims to be a translation into Tamil by

[1] "Such leaves are worn by Śiva, placed around the neck of a criminal before his execution and used in adorning the corpse of a bachelor, (W).

[2] Irattiṇākaram=The ocean as the repository of innumerable precious gems (Skt. Ratna), TL. Apte gives the meaning "a mine of gems", which is more appropriate in this context.

Velayutacuvami from a Sanskrit original by Tattatireya Maharṣi. It was published at Mathurai 1926.

The Mantras are named after the gods to be invoked or controlled. The technical term is Upācaṉam, and the headings will read as follows Viṉāyaka Upācaṉā Mantiram, Mōkaṉāṅki[1] Tēvatai Upācaṉā Mantiram. Turkkai (Durga) Upācaṉā Mantiram, Kāḷi Tēvatai Upācaṉā Mantiram, Uruttira (Rudra) Paiyiravi (Bhairavī) Upācaṉā Mantiram, Jiṉṉu (Jin, influence from Islam is not unknown) Tēvatai Upācaṉā Mantiram etc. etc. But the word Upācaṉā is also attached to things and practices like Calliyam (Art of divining, magical enchantment, black magic, TL) Upācaṉā Mantiram, Vipūti Upācaṉā Mantiram, Māraṇa[2] Upācaṉā Mantiram, Upācaṉā Mantiram for tying a sheet (Takaṭu=Amulet) to those who are possessed by evil spirits (Pēy), Upācaṉā Mantiram for pregnancy etc.

Before we take up the word Upācaṉā it is essential to note that in some cases the word Ārātaṉai takes its place, e.g. Ṣaṭakṣara Ṣaṇmuka Ārātaṉai, Pañcāṭcara Pirama Vāstuviṉ Ārātaṉai= worship of the six-lettered Subramanyan (Ṣaṇmukaṉ, The six-faced god) and worship of the five-lettered Brahmā Vāstu. This means that the six letters of Subramanyan (Ca Ra Ha Ṇa Pa Va)[3] and the five letters of Brahmā respectively are entered in the Cakkaram and worshipped. In as much as the word Upācaṉā is used in all other cases including such a heading as The five-letter Upācaṉā Mantra, it is not clear why the word Ārātaṉai has been employed here, but its appearance is important because it shows that Māntirīkam is conceived as service-worship, which is the meaning of the word Ārātaṉai.

The word Upācaṉā, Skt. Upāsana or Upāsanā, from Upa-Ās, sit near to, wait upon, worship[4], means "worship" (TL), "adoration, religious practice" (F). According to Sanātana Dharma, an elementary textbook of Hindu Religion and Ethics, compiled by

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[1] Mōkaṉāṅki was according to AC a Devadāsī doing service to Śiva in his temple Tiruvāṉaikkā, near Tiriccirappalli, loved by the singer Kāḷamēkar, who lived in the 15:th century. (AC sub Kāḷamēkappulavar).

[2] The art of killing, one of the eight Karmas.

[3] See below 290.

[4] Oldenberg, Die Lehre der Upanishaden 32 and note 98: "Man soll verehren heisst Upāsīta; Upās (Upa-Ās) ist synonym mit Upanishad".

Dr. Bhagavan Das, an authoritative example of present-day interpretation of terms, Upāsanā is a term that includes many forms of worship, including meditation and the daily Sandhyā.[1] D.S. Sarma in 'What is Hinduism?' explains Upāsanā as contemplation of a concrete form.[2] These explanations do not cover the meaning of the word as it is used here. One may translate Turkkai Upācaṉā Mantiram by Mantra of the worship of Durga, perhaps also Ṣaṭaṭcara Upācaṉā Mantiram by Mantra of the worship of The six letters, but the word worship has got a more definite meaning of effective instrument by itself in a phrase like Kerppan Tarikka Upācaṉā Mantiram, which will read Mantra of the worship for obtaining pregnancy, or Mantra of the worship for cold and fever, as another heading would have to be translated. Upācaṉā has the meaning of an instrument bringing into effect the power of a god or the power needed to bring about a certain result.

This is supported indirectly by the appearance of an item of worship under another name in the ritual prescribed for different deities. When a god is involved and referred to in the heading there is always an item of either Pūcai (worship) or Cānti Parikāram (healing through propitiatory rites for averting the evil influence of the planets). We shall deal with them as we take up the different items of the rites one by one. The items are:

I *Ordinarily*

1. Cakkaram
2. Basic mantra
3. Order of worship (Pūcai)
4. The benefit of it.

II *When the planets are propitiated*

1. Cānti Parikāram
2. How the Yantra is to be drawn
3. Basic Mantra
4. Cakkaram
5. Description of the disease cured.

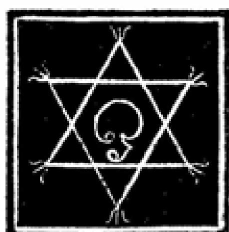
I

1. For the *Cakkaram* see fig. 6—7 and page 275. They represent an endless variation of a few elements, the square, the triangle, the circle, the Tamil character for Ōm, the trident, the 'Seedsyllables'

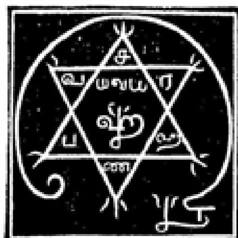
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[1] Sanātana Dharma, 110.

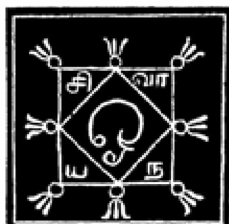
[2] P. 93. Cp. Radakrishnan, The principal Upanishads, 137; "Upāsana or worship is the basis of the doctrine of Bhakti".



1.



2.



3.

Fig. 6. Samples of Cakras.

1. "A hexagon formed of two triangles with the letter Ō (for Ōm) in the centre."

2. A hexagon inscribed in the letter Ō. The Bīja Hum is written in the centre and the letters Yavaya and the Ṣaṭakṣara Carahaṇapava in the small triangles.

3. Two squares with Ō in the centre and Civāyana (for Namacivāya) in the triangles.

(Bījākṣaras), the 'Fivesyllables' (Pañcākṣaras) and the 'Six syllables' (Ṣaṭakṣaras) i.e. the instrumental syllables.

2. The *Mantras* are of varying length. They consist of powerful words, syllables, Bījākṣaras, names of gods, interjections and exhortations. Sometimes a short sentence stating the case or the wish more plainly, is inserted. The most important word is Svāhā, the well known exclamation used in offering oblations to the gods.[1] According to the Mantiravāti in Otteri, Madras, no Mantra will work without it.

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[1] Apte s.v. "Hail" from Su+Ah (prob.), Cp. MW, s.v. and Hillebrandt, Rituallitteratur 176.

Fig. 7. A hexagon in a square with openings in the four directions. Carahaṇapava appears in the small triangles. The roots Vaci (dwell or entice), Naci (destroy), and Maci (mash) encircle the hexagon. The apexes end in tridents with the sign Śrī (wealth). In the central circle one reads: "God Carahaṇa dwell, dwell (or entice, entice)" between the syllables Ōm and Śrīm.

Very often the words have no intelligible meaning. They are at least not understood neither by the Mantiravāti nor by the client. "Ōm" like "Svāhā" is universally used. For its history and esoteric meaning see Apte s.v. In present-day Mantra reading it is the all-powerful word, which is particularly represented on the Cakkaram. Its Tamil character lends itself beautifully to an ornamental design of the accepted pattern. The Bīja is analysed by Bhattacharyya thus: "In order to make it possible for the unlearned masses to have access to the benefits of knowledge, the Sūtras were reduced to shorter and shorter pieces, until all the benefits of e.g. the 8000 stanza work Prajñāpāramitā were contained in the monosyllabic Pram."[1] The Bījas e.g. Hrīm occur in Jainism also.[2] Otherwise the breeding ground for these "seeds" are generally

[1] Bhattacharyya, Buddhist Esoterism, 56 and 60.
[2] Guerinot, La Religion Djaina, 292.

agreed to be the Tantric system. "Their (the Mantras') essence consists in certain mystical and secret letters or syllables which they contain (Bīja)"[1]. — Sing is a syllable, which is likely to convey the meaning of lion (Skt. Siṃha) to the minds of the public, just as Śrī means to them wealth and prosperity. The question of the historical origin of these words can not be taken up here. Some more examples will suffice to show that the Mantras contain a number of unintelligible words, although they may originally have had a secret significance. A Mantra against black magic runs: "Śrīyum Cip Rap, O Substitute for Brahmā (meaning the Cakkaram) Nama Naci Maci Jam Jam." To remove birdevil one has to say: "Caravaṇapava (born in the Caravaṇa tank in the Himalayas, a name of Subramanyan) Ōm Cing Civāya Civāya Nama (praise to Civa) Aṅkustāya Nama Laṅk Naṅk Maṅk Praise to Young Subramanyan, the god, Ōm Aiyum Kiliyum Cavvum Śrīyum Rīyum Am Um Ōm Caravaṇapava" (I:42).

In another Mantra against sprained legs one should say: "Ōm Siṅk Uruḷanaci Cakkara Muruḷa Maci Cikku (probably=Engl. sick) Pila Naci Svāhā" (I:19). The word Uruḷanaci is an echo of Uruḷ =revolve, but the words have no real meaning.

In order to make evil spirits move (dance) and depart one has to say: "Ōm Rīyum Civāyanama Śrīyum Hariyum Aiyum Kiliyum Savvuṁ all kinds of destructive evils come into my control Svāhā".

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[1] See above 71, note 2 and ERE: vol. 12, 193 sub Tantrism by A. S. Geden. Cp. Farquhar, Outline 201: "The vast majority of these Mantras are nonsense syllables such as Hring, Hung, Tha, Aing, Hum, Phat, sparks from the blazing furnace of aboriginal superstition, whence the system arose, or from the equally superstitious stores laid up in the Atharvaveda". The eloquent 'finale' is not entirely in agreement with facts. The use of effective sounds may be old, but the syllables as they meet us are more likely to be the result of a speculation as indicated by Bhattacharyya. The Mantras of the Atharvaveda, on the other hand, have as a rule an intelligible meaning. — Our knowledge of the Tantric writing is to a large extent dependent on the labours of Arthur Avalon, who will acknowledge a deeper meaning of the syllables. "Bīja (seed)-Mantra such as Aing, Kling, Hring have no meaning, according to the ordinary use of language. The initiate, however, knows that their meaning is the own form (Sva-Rūpa) of the particular Devatā, whose Mantra they are, and that they are the Dhvani (sound or tone, Apte) which makes all letters sound, and which exists in all which we see and hear" Woodroffe. Introduction, 84. A meaning or significance is, however, recorded for some of the Bījas in L'Inde classique, I, 567.

In a long spell of several hundred lines used as protection on the sixth lunar day several lines are for sound effect only: "Naka Naka Naka Naka Naka Naka Naka, say Tiku Kun Tiku Kun Tiku Kun Tiku Kun, say Ra Ra Ra Ra Ra etc." (IV:26).

A Mantra that keeps husband and wife from becoming separated runs: "Hari (Viṣṇu) Ōm Kāmatēvāya (the god of love) Avvum Pañcāyutapāṇayē (bearer of five weapons=Viṣṇu) Srīm Rim Avvum Avvum Vajīkara (bearer of the thunderbolt, Vajra=Indra) Mama Apiṣṭam Vaci Vaci Svāhā" (I:36).

It may be worth noting that Bhūr Bhuvas Svaṙ, the three Vyāhṛtis[1] made by the Brāhmans in their daily Sandhyā worship are not found in the books unless Ai Kili Sav have some similar meaning, which is a possibility.[2] There is, however, little to prove that the syllables are words picked up without being understood by a subjugated race, as Jevons wants magic to be explained.[3] Moreover the Bījākṣaras are found both in the daily rites at home and in the temple worship.[4] In many cases, perhaps in all, they can be shown to have had a significance. They are made-up symbols of rich contents, to the initiated. Some of them like Ōm and Svāhā are common property of all Hindu rituals and they form the most indispensible part of the ritual. Through them the thing succeeds. — Sometimes they are attached to the name of a goddess like Ōmkāra Mōkiṇi, the Mōkiṇi who is the syllable Ōm. In Tantric works "each Devatā has His or Her Vīja (=Bīja), Kring (Kāḷi), Hring (Māyā)" etc.[5] but in common life to-day they are just effective words. They are effective, partly because of their traditional reputation, partly because the human mind is apt to ascribe power to that which passes its understanding or knowledge.

The Mantras contain many other things apart from the Bījas. There is the formula Namacivāya (praise to Śiva), the Five-syllables, the Pañcākṣaram). A full chapter in the Śaivite catechism deals with it and contains among other things this question

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[1] Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 403.

[2] Tamil Pandit Muttucami of the Fabricius High School, Madras held that view.

[3] Jevons, An introduction to the history of Religion, 37.

[4] Cp. above 100, 101, 145 etc.

[5] Woodroffe, Introduction, 86.

and answer: What is the use of this Mantra? The answer is ... "as fire glows in the firewood, Śiva will shine in the soul and give joy and wisdom, whereby the three evils[1] disappear".[2] Detailed instructions are given as to what position one should take when uttering the Mantra, and under what circumstances it should not be said. Rightly pronounced it is no less an instrument than one that can bring about the release of the soul. In Māntirīkam the five syllables are interchanged. To obtain an audience with a king one must use the formula in this way, Vā Ci Ya Na Ma, to heal an eye disease Civā Maya Nama. The possible arrangements of the five syllables can be seen in the following Mantra: Vā Ya Na Ma Ci Vaivum Kaṇapati Vākāra Kaṇapati, Ya Na Ma Ci Vā Yavvum Kaṇapati Yakara Kaṇapati, Na Ma Ci Vā Ya Vavvum Kaṇapati Nakara Kaṇapati, Ma Ci Vā Ya Na Mavvum Kaṇapati Makara Kaṇapati, Ci Vā Ya Na Ma Civvum Kaṇapati Cikara Kaṇapati, Aiyum Kiliyum Cavvum, as these are in thy hands O Lord, and as the conch and the Cakkaram (here Viṣṇu's Cakra) and all power of control (Vacīkaram) of subjection of enemies all over the world are in thy hands, let them be in mine Svāhā" (I:8).

The five-syllable formula among worshippers of Viṣṇu is Namo Viṣṇave or, more common, the six-syllable phrase Namo Nārāyaṇa. For Subramanyan one will say Caravaṇapava (Skanda as born in the Caravaṇa lake).

The Mantras are as a rule connected with the name of a god, which appears in the vocative case somewhere in the Mantra. A verb may follow in the imperative mood but not always. Often these two, the name of the god addressed and a command, are the only intelligible words found in a Mantra as in this Mantra to Tūmapati (the god watching the way to the manes, The Lord of smoke): "Kaṉ Kaṉ Kal Kal Cuṉatiṉ Piṉ Piṉ Kalai Kalai separate separate Tuva Tuva Tūma Mantirakāḷi, Lord of the smoke Svāhā". The Mantra may, however, be very clear in its language, but such cases are rare. This will serve as an example: Ōm Pairava, Ōm Cakti Pairava bring all fishes from that (part of the) sea to this sea and drive all fishes that have been caught in that man's net and let them be caught in his net, of whom I am now thinking. Don't

[1] Mala, see Paranjoti, Śaiva Siddhānta, 130.
[2] Caiva Viṉāvitai, 55.

forget me, and don't listen to any opposing words, Pairava, come come Cakti Pairava Ōm Rīm drive drive Svāhā" (I:32).[1]

Often the god is simply invoked to come, while other imperatives are used repeatedly as syllables effective in themselves e.g. Naci, Naci, destroy, destroy.

When the Mantras are given for a special purpose and not attached to the name of a god, they are usually more brief. A Mantra for extinguishing fire consists of only two words Naṅku Maṅku, but they have to be repeated 1008 times! A Mantra for protecting the sheep-fold runs: Ōm Namacivāya Maṟi Maṟi (Maṟi=sheep).

The mentioning of the god's name is helpful. When repeated, its effective power is increased as can be understood from the Arccaṉai in the temples, where the readings of the name 108 times, 300 times and 1008 times are of different value. — The four men who carry the corpse to the Harichandra Ghat at Banaras for cremation cry out incessantly: Rāma Nāma Satya Hai, Rāma Nāma Satya Hai (Hindi=the name of Rāma is truth). It is said to clean the atmosphere around them, which is the same as saying it protects against evil influence and evil spirits. The minds of the corpse carriers might be disturbed by this fear of evil spirits, but the remedy for protecting them is not a prayer to Rāma but the frequent use of a powerful instrument, his name. It is the instrument, the tangible thing that helps him. — Likewise the name of a god, or sometimes many gods, forms an effective element in the Mantras.

Apart from the use of any inarticulate sound as an expression for prayer, understood by the devotee himself only, some syllables and formulas may in actual practice have an intrinsic devotional value of common acceptance like Ōm and Namacivāya.[2] Some formulas, usually of a more naive kind, contain a definite request, but generally speaking the Mantras are entirely instrumental in character. 1. They are effective. 2. They imply a call upon deities. 3. They contain powerful words. 4. They are fixed formulas.

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[1] Cp. Marco Polo's narration of the pearl-fishing off the Indian coast, when fish-charmers were paid for charming the big fishes to prevent them from injuring the divers (Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, 194).

[2] A Christian lyric composed about 1935 by Gnananandam has the refrain: Cānti, Cānti, Mācānti, Ōm". Ōm has something of the force of "Amen".

5. They have to be repeated a certain number of times. 6. They are prescribed for special needs. — The very reciting or chanting is effective. Certain kinds of metre have special effects.[1] The Gāyatrī metre is said to have the power of carrying the sacrifice to the gods.[2] — The special effect desired determines the choice of a Mantra, not any affection for or loyalty to a certain god. The question if they are rightly classified as invocations or as spells is one of method and does not affect their general aspect as instruments.

3. *The order of the worship* which forms a part of the ceremonies in most cases implies the preparation of the performer in a similar manner to the way in which a Paṭṭar has to make himself ready for worship in the temples.[3] He must rise before dawn, take his bath and perform the rites of the regular homeritual (Aṉuṣṭāṉam). The time may vary, however, because the different rites are due on different days and at different hours.[4] "He must take a bath on Friday night and perform the Aṉuṣṭāṉam[5] says one ritual. Another ritual fixes the time as "sunrise on a fullmoon day".[6] A ritual for the "control of everything" (Carva Vaciya Mantiram) orders Sunday evening etc. etc.

A place is chosen for the performance. It must be a "clean" place, whereby is meant a place free from defilement through the presence of certain persons or animals or things. A river or an open ground is often chosen.[7] One can also make a place "clean" by smearing it with cowdung etc.[8] This item corresponds to the Sthānaśuddhi in the Ātmārtta Pūjā.[9] For some rituals the place chosen is the opposite of "clean". To remove hostile spells, famine and other afflictions one must go to the burning ground on a Friday evening.[10]

The Mantra must sometimes be read by the performer while he

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[1] Konow, Das Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, 22.
[2] ŚBr. 1:3, 4, 6.
[3] See above 67 and 100 ff.
[4] II:56, III:75, V:1, 22, 23 etc.
[5] V:3.
[6] II:73.
[7] II:73.
[8] V:35.
[9] Śivārcanā Candrikā, 31.
[10] II:57.

is standing in water[1], but at no time is the performer directed to a temple. He is told to find a clean place or make a place clean. By a clean place may be meant the site of a shrine, inside the temple walls or the very platform where the idols are placed, but it is significant that the worship is not directed to the god in his shrine but to the Cakkaram or to a burning lamp or a measure of rice (Niṟai Nāḻi) or some yellow paste[2] (Mañcal), which is then called Piḷḷaiyār. Even the lamp is so called occasionally. Piḷḷaiyār does not here mean only Kaṇēcaṉ, as it usually does, but rather the substitute of any god or the general representative of the deities. Occassionally an image of the god "waited upon" will be made e.g. in the ritual for Subramanyan Upācaṉā Mantiram, when first a Piḷḷaiyār consisting of a lamp and mesaure of rice must be set up and then an image of Subramanyan, which is to be garlanded. Waiting upon Sarasvatī one arranges a pile of books on a small plank in the chosen place which is made clean with cowdung and has designs drawn in sacred ashes (Kōlam) upon it.

The object of worship thus created is treated as in the temple worship, only according to a less elaborate ritual. The two main items are the offering (Naivēttiyam) and the light-service (Āratti). A Mantra, instrumental in bringing about the presence of Pārvatī (Ampikai Piracaṉṉa Upācaṉā Mantiram), has the following rules for worship:

"Draw the Cakkaram given above on a sheet of gold or silver. Light four small lamps, one in each of the four directions and place sacred ashes, red ochre, yellow paste, camphor, plantains, coconuts and areca nuts with betel leaves and offer a garland of jasmin flowers". Here the Cakkaram is to receive the burning of camphor as well as the Naivēttiyam.[3] The four lamps serve as Tikkupantaṉam.[4]

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[1] III:39. The "Poison King" said Mantras were more powerful when read by a person standing in water. The pot representing the deity (Kumpam) contains water which may have reference to a general conception of water as primordial principle. Cp. the goddess Vāk born amidst waters (RV. X:125, 7, See Sudhenu Kumar Das, Śakti or Divine Power, 27). Sandhyā is sometimes performed in water (Rangachari, The Śrī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmans, 62).

[2] II:106, 108, 119, 123, 126.

[3] III:48—49.

[4] See above 72, note 2.

In another ritual it is clearly said that light service (in Tamil Tīpa Ārātaṉai, more common than Āratti) is to be performed and also Arccaṉai with rose-water performed to the sheet of copper on which the Cakkaram is engraved.[1]

A Mantra for achieving control (Vaciyam) has these rules of worship:

"Bathe at sunrise on a Friday. Put on clothes made of fibre resembling silk (Nārmaṭi) — Silk is often suggested as an alternative, but cotton is evidently to be avoided — fast and perform the daily rites (Aṉuṣṭāṉam). Make a place clean and smear a circle of cowdung and place on it fried paddy, plantains, coconuts, sacred ashes, sandal and saffron, incense sticks and rose-water and make a Piḷḷaiyār by placing a measure of rice, making it into a lamp (i.e. making an impression for a wick and oil) and lighting it. Draw the Yantra on a sheet of copper. Put sacred ashes on the plank serving as altar and apply sacred ashes, sandal and saffron to the Yantra and the scent of Civet and rose-water. Break a coconut and offer light and incense and Naivēttiyam. With the flower of the oleander,[2] the above mentioned Basic Mantra must be repeated 1008 times a day during four days. On the 11:th day bring the ceremony to completion by performing Apiṣēkam with the five ambrosias".[3]

Here the "bathing of the idol", the Apiṣēkam is also included in the ritual. This is not so common, because there is generally no idol, but only a Cakra as the place where the god is present.

The Pūcai is sometimes said to result in the actual appearance of the deity. A Mantra for the service of Naraciṅkacuvāmi (Narasiṃha) results on the seventh day of the performance in the appearance of the god in a female form. "One must then say: 'Thou shallst do all the work I tell thee to do', and it will consent to do so."[4] — A Mantra bringing about the service of Little Cāttā[5] says:

"Ōm Kuṭṭicāttā, Śrīm Rīm, Vāyanamaci (Namacivāya), Cāttā, come come, I swear by thee and by me and by Brahmā, who has created thee and me, and by Cakti and by Caṅkaraṉ (Śiva), come, Vum, Paṭu, Svāhā." In order to succeed one must repeat that 108 times a day. On the 40:th day the above mentioned god will appear on the shore of the tank (The prescription

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[1] II:80.

[2] Nerium oderum alba.

[3] II:88.

[4] V:36.

[5] See Dumont, Aiyaṉār 255. Cāttā = Śāstā is the son of Śiva and Viṣṇu, also called Aiyaṉār. He has often his abode on the shore of tanks. Cp. Kāmikam, 49, 793 and Balaratnam, Śāstā Worship in S. India (Ref. The Pilgrim, vol. IV, No 1, 30 ff.).

contains a direction to read the Mantra standing in water to the hips) in the shape of a small human being with a bag containing sacred ashes and a stick in his hand. These things he will leave on the shore of the tank where the Pūcai is performed and walk out knee-deep into the water as if he were going to bathe. Then one must without fear quickly take the bag and the stick, and walk out in the water up to the hip, and when the figure, who does not dare to come as far as that, asks for the bag and the stick, one must tell him: 'Swear by Śiva to come, whenever I think of thee and to do whatever I tell thee to do without objection.' When he has promised to do that one must give him his things back. Those who have read the Mantras and succeeded must thereafter always at every meal before they eat themselves throw a morsel of their food behind them. Those who fail to do it, he will destroy."[1]

The trick played on the goblin sounds like the motive of a fairy tale but it is in the line of instruments. Through some means or other one secures the control of an effective power. It implies, however, a certain obligation and is not without risks. The offering of food at every meal reminds one of the custom to offer food to the crows at the first meal every Saturday in order to please Saturn.

4. The benefit or result will be dealt with below 322 ff for all books in common.

II

1. Propitiatory ceremonies for the cure (of diseases), *Cānti Parikāram*, takes the place of "order of worship" in 16 rituals. The gods invoked in these rituals are the same as in the booklet Pālakirakatōṣam.[2] The ceremonies form together — they are scattered in book II — a true copy of that book in every detail, but there is a difference of emphasis. The Pālakirakatōṣam is a book of warning giving information that on the first day in the first month in the first year, on the second day in the second month in the second year etc. a disease with certain symptoms will attack the child as the result of such and such goddess approaching it. This is also the arrangement in the booklet called "Life without Diseases" (Nōyillāvāḻvu), which J. Filliozat describes as a Tamil version of the Kumāratantra by Rāvana.[3] — In the second book

[1] V:14. III:39.

[2] See above 192.

[3] "Dans le courant d'une année à partir du premier jour où est né l'enfant le démon Kali (Kālī) peut s'approcher. Son caractère: il y aura fièvre et vommissements, il y aura diarrhée". Filliozat, Kumaratantra, 98. Cp. IC, vol. VII:269 ff. Review by P. C. Bagchi.

of Māntirīkam[1], on the other hand, the emphasis is on the prescription. This is a manual for the cure of diseases which first gives the remedy and at the end, the kind of diseases to be cured as a result. The point in placing the diagnosis after the method of healing lies in a shifting of the emphasis from treating the gods as the cause of the disease to a more honorable position as the helpers out of the trouble.

Both the Pālakirakatōṣam and Māntirīkam II differ from the "Life without Diseases" in the names of the goddesses and in their numbers. The latter has only twelve like a fourth copy printed in Māntirīkam IV pp. 115—120, whereas both the first two have sixteen, but all the four agree in most details of the rituals, even in the composition of the Mantras[2], which assures a common origin. One important difference there is, however, "The Life withouth Diseases" does not require any name of a planet to be mentioned, but the term Pālakirakatōṣam is in the Mantra. This is not clear in the translation made by J. Filliozat, who renders Pālakirakatōṣam with "trouble des Saisisseurs d'enfants". This is of course correct from the point of view of Sanskrit etymology, but in Tamil the expression means "disease of children due to the malign influence of the planets". Even single Kirakam means planet (TL).

Cānti or propitiation (TL) or perhaps more literally appeasement is the term used for removing the malign influence of the planets[3], and such action is involved here. The ritual contains a direction to mention the name of a planet (Kirakam). It forms, however, only a small part of an elaborate ritual, to a large extent modelled on the regular modes of worship. Some important additions to the "order of worship" followed in ordinary cases of Māntirīkam are the Kāppu[4], the Mūlikai[5], the amulet (Kuḷicam) and the position of the mother and child for whom the ceremony is being performed. As an example the full ritual of the Mantra for the service of Durga is translated here below:[6]

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[1] II, 6 ff.

[2] "Ōm Śrīyum Pālakirakatōṣa Nivartti, Aiyum Kiliyum Cavvum" in all versions except IV which does not contain any Mantras.

[3] See above 208.

[4] See above 252.

[5] See below 312.

[6] II:8, Pālakirakatōṣam, 3.

"Prepare food on a Monday adding betel leaves to the rice. Put leaves of Kuppaimēṉi[1] in the curry and boil it. Mix the two together and add a little goat-milk and then knead it and form a male figure. Place it on a new pan and dress it in silk woven of five-coloured thread and put on ear-ornaments (Kātōlai) and necklaces (Karukumaṇi) and decorate it with lotus flowers. Give as present (Taṭciṇai)[2] sesame, jaggery, raw rice and betel leaves with areca nuts. Place around the figure nine kinds of grain (Navatāṉiyam), cooked rice, dried fish, cake and pastry, fried rice and Bengal gram, pressed oilseeds, greens, toddy, arrac, plantains, coconuts, bread and cigars. Light five wicks dipped in ghee. Tie eleven one-pie coins in a piece of yellow cloth and place it in front of the figure. Present incense and light and make Nivētaṉam (the technical term for delivering the offerings to an idol).

Now place the baby on its mother's lap and say the name of the planet eleven times and while moving a hen round them, say this Mantra 12 times: "Ōm Śrīyum, the evil influence of the planets on children (Pālakirakatōṣam), remove, Aiyum Kiliyum Cavvum" Take up the figure and move it round both of them (mother and child) nine times and repeat the aforesaid Mantra 108 times. Then place it near a Bhairava temple at 7 o'clock at night".

This part of the ritual corresponds to the Pūcai and is built up with the same elements. One notices that the Naivēttiyam (things offered), is richer in variety and includes an animal sacrifice (the hen). The mentioning of the cigars marks it as a very late composition. — A protective circle is drawn round the child with the help of the sacrifice and the figure representing the god. Thereby the evil caused by the planets is both kept out and counteracted. The effective elements are the sacrifice, the god — strengthened, pleased, made effective through the service — and the Mantra. But the ritual is not yet complete.

2. *The Yantra* must be drawn.

"Tie Kāppu to a Vēḷai-plant[3] and pull up the root. Then draw the Cakkaram described below on a sheet of copper. Roll it around the root and tie a three-coloured string around it. Place betel leaves and areca nuts, flowers, plantains and fried rice with Bengal gram (as Naivēttiyam) and break a coconut. Present incense and light and read the following Mantra 108 times:

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[1] Acalypha Indica.

[2] Skt. Dakṣiṇā, "present to a Brāhman at the completion of a religious ceremony" (Apte s.v.). W. also says "present or fee to a Guru or schoolmaster". Here it is used in a wider sense. It has become a fixed part of the ceremony. If this ritual is performed privately, there will be nobody to receive the gift, but it belongs to a properly performed rite, and hence it must have a place.

[3] Cleome pentaphylla.

'Ari (Hari=Viṣṇu) Ōm, God of justice (Yamaṉ), Lord who measured the earth (Viṣṇu as Trivikrama, a dwarf who measured the universe in three steps), Blueneck (Nīlakaṇṭaṉ=Śiva having swallowed the poison), whose shape is Māyā, to this child all evil (Tōṣam), *paṭu, paṭu, ṟāṅki, ṟāṅku, maci, maci, namacivāya Civā!*'

When this amulet (Kulicam) is tied to the right side of the child, all evil (Tōṣam) will be removed."

The medicinal root (Mūlikai) is used in all the 16 rituals and also in the 12 rituals of the Nōyillāvāḻvu described by Filliozat.[1] There is a different root for each case,[2] but the method of tying the Kāppu and enclosing it in a copper casket with a Cakkaram drawn on it, is the same in all cases.

Items Nos. 3 and 4 agree with 2 and 1 in the first series.

5. In Māntirīkam II the ritual ends with a *description of the diseases*. In the quoted ritual the symptoms are these: "Fits, sudden fear, hoarse voice, rashes, dysentery, vomitting, the child grows thin like a frog, its head sinks, it perspires, yawns, screams and cries with red eyes rolling and staring. Diseases with these and similar symptoms will all be cured, if the above mentioned prescription is followed. They are diseases which begin on the second day in the second month of the second year after the child was born." Further examples of cure will be taken up under 'Purposes', below 322 ff.

This will be a suitable place to expand a little on the appeasement of the planets. The malign influence of the planets has become ascribed to dangers caused by evil-minded deities and these remedies have resulted.

It has been pointed out by Filliozat that the deities occupy the ambiguous position of being the cause of the evil as well as helpers out of it.[3] Māntirīkam II showed a tendency to emphasize the latter aspect. As for the cause, a man may be indifferent to the question if it was a demon or a star, but when it comes to the question of finding a way out of the trouble it is not so, because he can not approach the stars for help. The problem is touched upon in

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[1] Filliozat, Kumaratantra, 85 ff.

[2] It is a mistake when Filliozat under ritual 2 within brackets suggests "de racine d'Achyrantes aspera (c. paragraph 1)" as if the same root was to be used in rituals 1 and 2.

[3] Filliozat, Kumaratantra, 83.

the Bṛhat Saṃhitā.[1] "Terrestrial portents are those which occur with movable and immovable things. The latter may be checked by expiations and allayed; an atmospherical portent may be somewhat mitigated, whereas a celestial one cannot be assuaged. Yet a celestial portent also may be allayed through donations of much gold, food, cows, and land, through (the ceremony of) milking a cow on a precinct hallowed to Rudra, and through the Koṭihoma."[2] — Koṭihoma means ten millions Homa sacrifices. — "Celestial portents are unnatural phenomena of planets and stars"[3] and the ray of hope may not give light to those who are under the malign influence of the planets in their regular course. In chapter CV ceremonies are prescribed in connection with the manufacture of a human figure representing the Nakṣatras (the lunar mansions) "by those who wish to have a goodly shape". Apart from these rather vague references Varāhamihira does not seem to offer ways of remedying the destinies caused by stars and planets, but they point in a direction where they are to be found. The stars and planets must be approachable. Therefore their influence has been attached to demons or deities. But better still; the planets have been made into deities.[4] The Navagrahas are found in every Śiva-temple. They stand on a platform and must be so arranged that no one figure faces another. The reason may be that one must avoid having any fixed constellation. They are always in a group together, but each one of them may be the object of special attention, e.g. Saturn. — The planets have been made into idols. The tormented soul may give vent to his grief and anxiety in the temple and have the satisfaction that he is at the same time following the instructions as to how the evil should be averted. It is important to remember, however, that the Navagrahas serve as objects of worship only for the purpose of removing Kirakatōṣam, and they will be worshipped on the instruction of an astrologer or when Kirakatōṣam is otherwise presumed.

Mitigation of the malign influence of the planets is a regular item of private worship in the temples.[5] The shrine of the Nava-

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[1] The astrological work of Varāhamihira.

[2] The Bṛhat Saṃhitā, XLVI, 5—6.

[3] The Bṛhat Saṃhitā, XLVI, 4.

[4] Cp. Nilsson, Religion as man's protest, 13.

[5] See above 239.

grahas in the front hall of the Cōmacuntara temple at Mathuraī is one of the most frequented places in the temple. There will always be some devotees walking round the shrine nine times while a Paṭṭar on their behalf is throwing flower on one of the nine figures and performing Aṣṭōttiram (reading the name of the god 108 times). A religious mendicant will be standing ready with an incense-stand offering his services to the devotees. For a small coin he will throw incense on live coals as an offering while the devotee performs his circumambulation. On Saturdays the crowd is considerable. In front of Saturn is a bowl, at a distance of 10 to 15 feet from the shrine, on which a small burnt offering is made. One buys a little packet of fat wrapped in an oil-drenched piece of cloth from a boy sitting nearby and leaves it to burn in the bowl. Sometimes old rags are added, which means that the disease or evil of what ever kind it may be, is handed over to the flames. Any one planet may be worshipped on its day or according to its position in relation to the sun or the moon. The Kētu and Rāhu (the nodes) are also worshipped. On the 3 april 1951 a man had Aṣṭōttiram performed to Kētu on the advice of an astrologer.

At least four books in the Tamil Sangam library give instructions for the appeasement of the nine planets (Cānti). Number H 84[1] has a complete order of worship for all of them. The idolization is brought one step further in that the planets are identified with the common gods, the sun with Śiva, the moon with Īcuvari, Mercury with Murukaṉ, Mars with Viṣṇu, Jupiter with Brahmā, Venus with Indra, Saturn with Yama, Rāhu with Kāḷi and Kētu with Citraputraṉ (?). The order of worship of the sun comprises the following items; 1. The result (Palaṉ) of the "contact" (Vedhā)[2] of the sun. The contacts of the sun are established when it is in the 1. 4. 5. 7. 8. 9. 12. houses of the Zodiac.

2. The offerings (Naivētaṉam) due to the sun.
3. The Mantra for invoking the sun to be present (Āvāhaṉam).
4. The act[3] of worship (Pūcai) of the sun.
5. The Cakkaram for the sun.

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[1] Navakkiraka Mahāmantiram by Municami Mutaliyar.

[2] Vētai, See above 206.

[3] The word Ārampam, Skt. Ārambha means beginning but it often stands for the whole act (Cp. Apte s.v.) and is better thus rendered here.

6. The Mantra for performing Tikkupantaṉam.[1]
7. The 108 names for the sun to be used at Aṣṭōttiram.

This is repeated for all the nine planets together with instructions for their circumambulation in the temples.

The Vaikhānasasmārta Sūtra has a complete ritual for the appeasing of the planets (IV:13). It begins by saying which the nine planets are, what their colours are and continues to mention the following gods as presiding over them: Agni, Varuṇa, Kārttikai[2], Viṣṇu, Indra, Śacī, Prajāpati, Śeṣa and Yama. Their "stations" are middle, southeast, south, northeast, north, east, west, southwest, and northwest. — They do not agree with the gods of the directions nor with the gods identified with the planets in the book in the Tamil Sangam library numbered 84, which has just been referred to.

The instruction for the ritual follows comprising the preparation of small pedestals, one for each god, deposit of grass bundles (representing the gods), kindling fires and worship with flowers, perfumes and boiled rice (Naivēttiyam). When the gods have been worshipped, the Āghāra ceremony[3] and sacrifice in the fire have to be performed to each planet.[4]

Here the gods and the planets are to some extent kept separate but treated in the same manner.

H. No 124[5] assures the reader: "Whosoever studies this book (it contains 440 pages) with understanding will more and more attain to good living conditions (Caukkiyaṅkaḷ) and remove all adversities by performing Cānti to the planets which are not favourable to him".

H. No 136[6] advises gifts[7] to be given in gold and lotus on the day of one's Nakṣatra of birth or Nakṣatra of namesgiving with a view to having a long life, sons, wealth and health. These should be arranged either in a temple or at home on a purified place, on which

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[1] See above 72, note 2.

[2] Guha in the text. Caland seems to take him to be Rudra.

[3] See above 126.

[4] Vaikhānasasmārta Sūtra, translated by Caland, 119—20.

[5] Āti Jātakarakaciyam.

[6] Navakkiraka Tōṣa Parikāram.

[7] The word Tāṉam, Skt. Dāna, has besides the meaning of gift acquired a sense of "sacrifice requiring offerings", TL s.v.

must be poured four measures of paddy and two measures of wheat so as to form a diagram of the Zodiac. In this a copper vessel is to be placed with an image of the sun made of gold. Eight kind of leaves and a piece of red cloth should be offered according to rules and also red flowers and Naivēttiyam. The image should then be worshipped (Pūci) with the eight kinds of names, Cūryaha, Tivākaraha, Tējōmūrttihi, Jakatpatihi, Caṅkaraha, Varataha, Cāntaha and Haṃsaha[1], and Arkkiyam (water for washing and rinsing) presented, Homa made with Mantras according to rules and Brāhmans worshipped. The water of the vessel should be sprinkled on the person arranging the sacrifice (Ejamāṉ, Skt. Yajamāna, on whose behalf the ceremony is being performed). The piece of cloth and the image should be presented as a gift. This gift must be presented with a prayer to the lord, the sun, for the removal of all disasters and evils (Tōṣam), oppression from the king, dwindling of property, and that all sorts of difficulties may be removed, and in this world all kinds of enjoyments take place and desires fulfilled. This offering of gold and lotus will please the sun."

One notices again the almost complete ritual for temple worship, but the gifts to the Brāhmans and the worship directed to them marks it as essentially a home ritual. A person who arranges Arccaṉai (private temple services) for his own benefit in the temples is not as a rule called Ejamāṉ, a title reserved of old for sacrifices according to Vedic rites.[2] A prayer should reverentially (Paktiyuṭaṉ) be offered to the sun,[3] but the instrumental character is preserved through the fixed details of the ritual and the result assured, although it is expressed in terms of a personal acceptance by the sun.

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[1] These are names applicable to the sun. Cūriyaṉ is its proper name. The second and third refer to him as lord of the day and of light, the fourth as the lord of the world. Caṅkaraha has the meaning of conferring happiness, Varataha as bestowing boons, and Cāntaha as being appeased and perhaps as appeasing (See Apte). Haṃsaha, finally is the word that equals the sun to Brahman or the supreme being. The words are spelt in Tamil with the Visarga ending.

[2] Oldenberg. Die Religion des Veda, 370.

[3] The sun is a deity of old traditions and occupies even now, sometimes with the moon as partner, a more prominent place in the temples apart from his connection with the Navagrahas. As a consequence of this one may register a more personal touch in the prayer directed to him, or in other words, the direct approach is more evident.

H. No 90[1] deals with the special difficulties when horoscopes for husband and wife do not agree. Even if the horoscopes compare well, the good relationship may be disturbed by the wife (in pre-puberty marriages) reaching maturity on an inauspicious day:

"If a woman has her courses in the month of Citrā (April—May), it does not agree (Ākātatu) with her husband. He will have many kinds of troubles. The appeasement is done in this way. Husband and wife will dress in new clothes and place nine vessels on a clean (purified) spot and, invoking the Navagrahas to be present, perform the Homa and other acts of appeasement and worship (Pūci) them. The water of the nine vessels shall then be poured into a pot with thousand holes and the couple bathed with it (Apiṣēkam).[2] The new clothes they have been wearing shall be presented to a wife whose husband is alive, and both husband and wife of one accord give food to poor pilgrims. Thereby the evil (Tōṣam) caused by the wife having her courses in the month of Citrā will be removed. She will be a chaste wife befitting her husband and sweet to him. They will have children with wealth in gold and corn and live a happy life to the joy of relatives and friends."[3]

Man is not a helpless victim to the malign influence of the planets,[4] but before he can handle the situation they must be made subject to the influence of ceremonies and rites. Therefore he cannot accept

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[1] Peṇkaḷ Rutuvāṇa Māta-Titi-Vāra Nakṣattira Palāpalaṅkaḷum Ataṟkuriya Cāntiyāti Kiramaṅkaḷum. "The results of women having their courses on such and such month lunar day, week day and 'star' and rules for their appeasing etc.".

[2] Generally held to be a fertility rite. Crooke mentions several instances of pouring water with this intention (Crooke, Folklore, 242—3. Cp. also Stevenson, Rites, 75 ff. and the representation of Śiva marrying Mīṇākṣi, while Viṣṇu is seen pouring water over their joint hands in the Cōmacuntara temple, Mathurai. See further Gonda, Aspects, 260, note 127.

[3] Op. cit. 3—4.

[4] In ZDMG NF, 7, 1 ff. von Negelein in an article called "Die ältesten Meister der indischen Astrologie und die Grundidee ihrer Lehrbücher speaks of Śānti in the old astrological books, Vṛddhagarga Saṃhitā and Bṛhat Saṃhitā. For Śānti the Atharvaveda was the book of ritual, he says. "Wenn spezielle Sühnriten nicht vorgeschrieben waren, so soll man zunächst eine Verehrung der oder des in Frage kommenden Wahrzeichens oder Gestirns oder eine Verehrung des speziellen Graha's vornehmen", op. cit. 11. — "Die Verehrung der 'Planeten' hat den alten Zug, als apotropäischer Kultusakt zu gelten, bis zu Gegenwart bewahrt. Stofflich und begrifflich hat sie sich nicht verändert", op. cit. 18.

Hoens quotes a few examples from AV (Śānti, 171—73). Attention may also be drawn to AV 19:9:10 "Weal for us be the planets" (Whitney, AV Saṃhitā, vol. II, 914).

conceptions of their power as completely mechanical. If that were so, his instruments would not work. The conception of "instrument" requires as its corollary a certain amount of susceptibility. In other words: blind laws of nature do not exist to him. Even the "instrument" itself has a tinge of subjectivism. It must be handled by a person and it implies in most cases a coercion of a person's influence or power. When the planets have been turned into gods, they can be negotiated with.[1]

Returning to the rituals of Māntirīkam II we remember that a medicinal root used as part of an amulet played an important part in all cases of cure through appeasement of the planets. These two items will come again for more detailed study.[2] At the end of the ritual is mentioned the result to be achieved, which in all cases of appeasement was the cure of diseases. It occupies the same place as the statement about the result or good obtainable in other rituals. Before we give a fuller account of the purposes or objectives which the rituals promise the performer (below 322 ff.), a brief account of the remaining books is needed.

Book III is the second part of book II, but the copy in my possession was printed only in 1934. It has a second part containing a number of prescriptions for various diseases. Many kinds of seeds and spices are prescribed in various quantities, and directions are given for their proper use. This has, however, less to do with Māntirīkam. The rest of book III is similar to No II in style and detail. The purpose of the rituals is often given in the heading as e.g. Mantra for eyedisease, Mantra for conquering enemies, Mantra to prevent ants from coming, Mantra to drive away bugs, Mantra to prevent rats from coming into the house etc.

A few general statements are worth noticing. Firstly: "This is from experience in the Malayalam country". — It has already been pointed out that Māntirīkam is generally considered to have originated from the west-coast. — Secondly: "If you do all that which has been said in this Cāstiram with good conduct, steadfast mind and concentrated thought, every prescription will succeed." Not only knowledge and technical skill belong to the equipment of

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[1] Cp. Nilsson, Religion as man's protest 28.

[2] See below 312 ff.

a Mantiravāti but also qualifications of ethical character and spiritual exercise.

A complete series of the eight Cittis or Karmas[1] with elaborate Yantras come under the general heading of Pattirakāḷi Upācaṉā Mantiram (Mantra in the service of Pattirakāḷi). The portion begins with words of praise to Kāḷi, a basic Mantra, and details of worship, which so far are common to all the eight Karmas as they imply — as usual — bathing in a river and performance of the daily rites (Aṉuṣṭāṉam). The Yantras are uniform in design but have different inscriptions. The Yantra for Vaciyam (control) must be engraved on a sheet of lead and bathed (Apiṣēkam) in milk, ghee and honey and worshipped (Arccaṉai) with flowers. Offering sandal, rose-water and incense one should worship mentally the Guru of the world (=Śaṅkarācārya) and sitting on a tiger-skin perform Jepam (chanting the names etc.) with the Rudrākṣa[2] nuts. Similar brief rituals are prescribed for the other Karmas. Nothing is said about the result, only the performers are told to be always clean. The purpose is obvious. To become master of the eight Karmas is the desired objective. It is found in several books. Exactly the same ritual is printed in No V.[3] Similar rituals have No:s IV, VI and VII.[4]

Book No IV has this title printed in English characters "Sarvadevada Vasyam or The mystical parts of The Mantras of Deities". The Tamil title on the front page adds the information that the control (Vaciyam) of all gods (Sarvadevatā) contains Yantras with Bījākṣaras (the seed syllables). It is published by C. G. Murugesa Mudaliayar, Sowcarpet, Madras, 1944 and has 126 pages. Its author is Pandit Devendranath.

In the foreword reference is made to the Atharva Veda and to Trivandrum, the capital of the Malayalam country, the accepted place of origin of Māntirīkam. The writer explains the titles in this way: "This book is a help to knowing how to conquer and bring all deities, malignant planets (Tuṣṭakkirakaṅkaḷ), and many demons (Pūtam, Pirētam, Picācu etc.) into union with oneself (*taṉakkaikki-*

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[1] III, 19—24. For the eight Karmas see above 269.

[2] See above 264, note 4.

[3] V, 25—30.

[4] IV, 17—23, VI, 24—32, VII, 13—20.

yamāy) and in many instrumental acts (Cātaṉam),[1] rendered possible thereby, perform many works." The author promises that the book will supply all necessary Mantras, Yantras and Bījākṣaras for the control of all deities and indicates the danger of using a Mantra, when one or two items in the ritual are missing, as sometimes happens, when not quite reliable books are used. In as much as the author has been using the prescriptions and numberless others, what loss can he suffer, if they are published! (others might have kept their secrets).

The first part of the book begins with praise to Kaṇēcaṉ as usual and continues with directions for his 'service' (Upācaṉam) as well as for his worship (Pūcai). The Upācaṉam comprises the daily ritual of rising early, bathing, dressing in silk, applying sacred ashes, and the full Aṉuṣṭāṉam, and also choosing a holy place, concentration of mind, meditation in the prescribed form, which here means thinking of or repeating the Mantra of Kaṇēcaṉ. Next follows the drawing of the Cakkaram, which in itself will cause many diseases to disappear. Worship consists in preparing a sacred pot (to represent the deity, Kumpam) and in offering sandal flower, cooked rice etc. The reading of the Basic Mantra comes last. — Its result (Palaṉ) is stated in a separate paragraph. Children and adults are promised relief from fever caused by various diseases, and many evils (Tōṣam), and red boils in the head, convulsions and fits, if they read the Mantra 108 times, apply sacred ashes and drink three times a little water from the pot.

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[1] Cātaṉam, Skt. Sādhana is means and instrument (TL). Jñāna and Dharma are the Sādhanas for attaining to the nature of God. (Schrader, Pāñcarātra, 113—114). The Sādhanamāla of the Buddhists consist of 312 Sādhanas indicating the methods to be pursued for obtaining particular Siddhis. Thus Bhattacharyya, Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism, 83. (The Sādhanamāla vol. I was edited by the same author, Baroda, 1925). So also Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, 529. — In Tantric systems Sādhana can "generate Śakti" (Avalon, Principles of Tantra II, 9). In Bhakti philosophy Sādhana is both an aspect of Bhakti as a means of obtaining the goal, Mokṣa, and the means by which Bhakti is attained, which are sixteen in number, three of which are external, ablutions, sacrifices and image-worship, Dasgupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, vol. IV, 347 and 354. Cp. also a monograph on Sādhana; Nalini Kanta Brahma, The Philosophy of Hindu Sādhanā, London, 1932. "Sādhanā includes all the religious practices and ceremonies that are helpful to the realisation of spiritual experience" (13).

The last item is noteworthy. It is not a question of sipping water (Ācamaṉam) but real consumption=absorption of the substance. Putting some of the sacred ashes in one's mouth is quite common. At the Paṇṭiyamuṉi temple, 2 miles east of Mathurai, women caught the dripping from the gargoyle of the shrine (Go-mukhī) in their hands and drank it. Any holy water (Tīrttam) may be drunk with the intention of assimilating its power with one's own bodily self.[1]

Noteworthy are also the instructions given in an alternative ritual to perform breathing exercises according to the Yogic system (Pirāṇāyāmam) and the "declaration of purpose", Caṅkalpam (Skt. Saṅ-kalpa).[2] It is in Sanskrit but written in Tamil characters and contains a detailed statement of the (auspicious) time for the performance with reference to year, halfyear, season, month, fortnight, lunar day (Titi), day of the week and lunar mansion (Nakṣattiram) and also a list of good things desired expressed in general terms such as wealth, sons, grandsons etc.

There follows a description of the worship of the sacred pot (Kalacam) also in Sanskrit and a Sloka in praise of Kaṇēcaṉ and the sixteen names of that god. Another poem of nine stanzas is called Viṉāyakar Kavacam. Kavacam means armour and also an amulet or a Mantra for protection. Another long piece in poetry is called the Kavacam of Kantar (Skanda=Subramanyan). The book contains several such poems. One of these poem-Mantras has not less than 62 verses. The prose portions are also long, although they are Mantras for very ordinary purposes such as cure of scorpion bite, sprained legs, snake bites, "bird-evil" (Paṭcitōṣam) etc. Some new headings call for attention: "The coconut Mantra for catching thieves, Detecting thefts, Tying a Linga against poison." A "Mantra for binding the mouth of a dog" should be read for the consecration of a pinch of mud to be thrown in the face of a dog, when it comes barking and biting. It will then stop barking and run away and hide itself. In eight days it will languish without seeking food. To untie the mouth of it within that time one must sprinkle turmeric[3] water in its face, say the Mantra, blow into its nose and with one's

[1] Cp. below 312, note 5.
[2] Cp. above 84.
[3] Curcuma longa.

hand touch and take it down. The dog will then become well again. — The ways of cursing and curing are not wide apart.

The second part of the book has no poems. The Mantras consist sometimes of long lists of names and attributes ending up with Svāhā. Sometimes a basic Mantra is added. There are Mantras for binding the deities with the help of sacred ashes, which has for its result that the deities will not dance and not tell what the signs mean. This is an action against the Kōṭaṅkikaḷ,[1] whose invocation of the gods is rendered useless. — In a long list of more than a page, however, the gods are called just as they were called by the Kōṭaṅki. The tone is more humble. The Mantiravāti refers to the grace of his Guru as the cause for their coming and to himself as their poor servant. The gods who come, will be his refuge, when he praises their lotuslike feet. The gods are asked to come of one accord and joyfully.[2]

The Sun, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā head the list which contains a considerable number of "village gods" and deities which are described by reference to their residence and functions. Ancestors are also included: "Those who have died after a righteous life may come" etc. Gods with whom the Mantras are connected are the same as in the books previously mentioned: Subramanyan, Bhairava, Āñcaṉēyar (another name for Hanuman), Māṭaṉ, Hanuman, Maturaivīraṉ, Mahiṭācuramarttaṉi (=Kāḷi, the killer of (the demon) Mahiṣāsura), Narasiṃha, Vīrapattiraṉ, Emakiṅkiliyaṉ (the servant of Yama. He gets Naivēttiyam of arrack and beef!) Kāmaṉ (the god of love is invoked to bring the woman desired) etc.

Of special interest is a list of Śānti for the 27 lunar mansions, the Nakṣattiras.[3] Each Nakṣattiram or asterism consists of thirteen degrees and twenty minutes of the Zodiac and has a particular quality called Yōkam, e.g. to Kirttikai the Yōkam is "longevity" etc.[4] Each constellation is divided into four quarters, and detailed information is given about the course a fever will take, whether it will lead to death or stop, depending upon which quarter it starts in.

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[1] IV, 80. See above 223 ff.

[2] IV:81.

[3] IV:96 ff.

[4] W.s.v. Cp. also above 201. — Nakṣattiram is called Nāṉmīṉ (day-star) in Tamil.

All the 27 asterisms are referred to from the point of view of a fever attacking man and the Śānti which will cause it to stop.

The book ends with the Kirakatōṣa Cānti already mentioned.[1]

Two rituals are given here as examples. The first aims at a general protection of one's own body, which is necessary when one wishes to enter upon the enterprise described in the second ritual. It is called: "Binding the body".

"Ōm. For the two soles of the feet the great goddess Pū (Earth) is the protection. For the two ankles Kaṇapati is the protection. For the two knees the three-eyed god (Śiva) is the protection. For the two thighs Durga is the protection. For the waist Āticivaṉ (the "original" Śiva) is the protection. For the stomach Bhairava is the protection. For the breast Mārkaṇṭaṉ (Mārkaṇḍeya)[2] is the protection. For the neck Skanda is the protection. For the lips Uttamā Dēvī (the excellent goddess) is the protection. For the teeth Paraśurāma is the protection. For the tongue Nārāyaṇaṉ (Viṣṇu) is the protection. For the two eyes Kāḷiṅkarāyaṉ[3] is the protection. For the forehead Nīlakaṇṭaṉ (Blue-neck = Śiva) is the protection. For the head Tampirāṉ[4] is the protection. Around the body the conch and the discus are the protection. If I am not protected in that way, it is not my binding, it is the Lord's (Īcuvaraṉ) binding. May it guard me. Namacivāya. Svāhā."[5]

This corresponds to the Tikkupantaṉam whereby one is assured protection from all quarters, a ritual which immediately preceeds the "binding the body" ceremony. The Tikkupantaṉam includes prescriptions for throwing sacred ashes in the various directions and for worship, which the latter ceremony has not. How necessary it is to have one's own body protected can be seen from the second

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[1] See above 296.

[2] A Sage blessed with the boon of eternal youth of 16 years. TL and AC. Cp. Mārkaṇṭēya Purāṇam.

[3] Kāḷiṅkarāyaṉ was an ancient title used by high officials at the time of Cōlas and Pāṇṭiyas (TL). It also has a reference to Kṛṣṇa as dancing on the hood of the serpent Kāḷiyaṉ. Cp. Kāḷiṅkamarttaṉaṉ. The connection here may lie in the story that this Nāga (serpent) feared Viṣṇu's bird Garuḍa and was driven out in the sea by Kṛṣṇa, but with the foot imprint of Kṛṣṇa on him he was made free of fear of the bird. In the story Kṛṣṇa is called Kaṇṇaṉ (from Pkt. Kaṇha = Kṛṣṇa, TL), which also means one who has eyes. The footprints may refer to the marks on the hood of the cobra and associate this Nāga with eyes as here. Or the association may have been linked up with Kṛṣṇa. See AC for the story.

[4] Tampirāṉ is God, the Supreme Being (W.). It is the third person of the word of address to a deity. Empirāṉ is "our God", Umpirāṉ "your God".

[5] IV:67.

ritual, which is called "Separation-Uccāṭaṉam"[1] (=driving away or causing to depart).

"Ōm, Ām, Avvum, Aiyum, Ōm Vīratūmapati (The valiant lord of fire) Umpaṭu Uccāṭṭāyā. If repeated 20.000 times, it will succeed. (!)

Draw this Cakkaram on a fresh palmyra leaf and the name of your enemy upside down and apply to it the following ointment (Karuvu)[2]: excrements of a pig, a donkey and a man, a skull and a menstruous cloth. This should be made into oil and smeared on the Cakkaram. Add some dust from your enemy's feet. Read the Mantra and insert this leaf into their (the enemy and his wife) place of dwelling and they will become separated. When doing it you must be careful and "bind your body". You may apply the five condiments (Kāyam)."[3]

This is Vaippu, i.e. deposit (of an instrument causing evil)[4].

The effect of the ritual is considered to be somewhat incalculable, but the "binding of the body" is in principle not different from the Tikkupantaṉam, whereby the daily worship of the gods in the temples is protected from evil disturbances.

V. The fifth book is another ABC of Māntirīkam. Its full title is "ABC of Māntirīkam of experience as practised in the Malayalam country". It is claimed to be an original Sanskrit work by Tattatireya Maharṣi, translated into Malayalam by Narayanavisnu Nampuriyar and into Tamil by Atmanata Svami. It was printed in Madras 1943. In appearance and contents this booklet is very much like the books nos. I, II and III. The rituals are labelled either as the Mantra for the worship (Upācaṉam mostly, sometimes Pūcai) of such and such god or as effecting this or that result, e.g. "to keep husbands and wives together" etc. As usual the ritual consists of three main parts: The order, the Mantra and its result. Sometimes the order comprises more specified items from the temple liturgy like meditation (Tiyāṉam) and the Basic Mantra.

A somewhat unusual note is struck in the ritual on p. 44. After a sort of "meditation" in Sanskrit the Cakkaram is drawn. The chief Mantra follows: "*Ōm carahaṇapava*[5] *Ōm aiyum kiliyum*

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[1] See above 269.

[2] Karuvu is a term for ingredients used for witchcraft (W.). Karu=Foetus.

[3] The five condiments or stimulants are: assafoetida, pepper, dry ginger, garlic and mustard (W.).

[4] See above 272, note 3.

[5] Carahaṇapava is often written for Caravaṇapava (Skanda was born in the Caravaṇa pond).

cavvum rīm śrīyum carahaṇapava vaci vaci cuvāhā (Skt. Svāhā) to be repeated 1008 times." Details of the Pūcai follow:

"After bath in the early morning in a river put on silk clothes, smear cowdung on a secluded spot, where a lamp must be lighted and a sacred pot (Kumpam) arranged with yellow strings and flowers tied around it. Place the tip of a plantain leaf in front of the pot and the plate with the Cakkaram engraved on the leaf, offer milk, sweets etc., and present light and incense. Sit on a plank of mango wood and read the Mantra.

Its effect is as follows: If you read the Mantra 1008 times over sacred ashes (Vipūti) which are afterwards strewn in front of women possessed by a devil (Pēy), the devil will depart. If you read it over milk and let them drink it, medicines and other things will become ineffectual.[1] If it is read by wise men (Ñāṇi) and Yogis sitting in the Lotus posture, it will give a vision of the Ātman (Ātma Taricaṇam). So it has been said by the world-Guru Caṅkarācāriyar (Śaṅkara)."

VI. The sixth book is of a somewhat different type: "Parācatti (Parā Śakti) our help. A gem of the science of medical roots with reference to vowels and consonants (Uyir Mey Eḷuttu Mūlikai Jālarattiṉam) with Yantra, text and explanation". It is written by P. Vativelu Cettiyar from old manuscripts and printed in Madras 1930.

It begins with a chapter on control of mind (Maṉōvaciyam) and lays down certain rules for its attainment. One must have a house for concentration, a separate room, eight by eight feet or ten by ten feet square. It must be whitewashed in pure white. Nobody else should be allowed to enter it. It must be full of perfume and have three bright lamps at the back and on both sides. In front of the occupant, sitting in Yogic posture, there must be on the wall about three feet from the ground a Karumpuḷḷi Cakkaram, i.e. a black square with five concentric circles with twelve lotus petals outside the biggest circle.

It goes on to say that one must rise at three in the morning and complete all things belonging to the morning toilet and sit at twelve feet (!) distance staring at the Cakkaram for an hour pronouncing at the same time the syllable Ōm without moving one's lips. If this is continued for three months the Cakkaram will disappear and a secret be revealed. The secret consists in identifying one's body with the letters in the Cakkaram. The Cakra of the Yogic

[1] In as much as the word for medicine (Maruntu) according to the dictionaries always means something good, the aim of this procedure must be to prevent recovery. The possible exception (?) is love-potion.

system is here related to the details of the Cakkaram. When this secret has been revealed to the mind, one can with the help of the principal tubular vessel of the body[1] by means of the Mūlikai (medicinal root) perform Cālam (tricks) to the astonishment of many.[2]

The book refers to western terms like mesmerism, hypnotism and magnetism identifying them with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Cālam as the art of an illusionist has less interest in this connection, but the teaching about Mūlikai concerns us more.

The special feature of the book is the prominent part played by plants and roots as instruments. It was so already in Vedic times.[3] — The word Mūlikai is a tamilized form of Skt. Mūla and means a root used for healing purposes. In common Tamil it is synonymous with medicine of a certain kind, which can be bought in the bazaar but not in the Chemist's shop. The word Mūla is also used for a medicinal root, especially when it is preceded by a number. People speak of "the five roots" or the "eight roots" or the "ten roots" meaning different kinds of medical roots (W.).

Many of these roots may have a real curative power but that is hardly a relevant question, because they are not taken by the patient in any way. When the Mantiravāti reads Mantras while he dips margosa leaves in water to remove Tōṣam from babies,[4] and when the Poison King waves them before his epileptic patient, the potential medical value of the leaves is of no importance.[5]

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[1] Culumuṇai, Skt. Suṣumnā. Lindquist, Yoga, 5, 44, 11. Cp. above 94, note 2.

[2] VI:10.

[3] Hillebrandt, Ritual-litteratur, 178.

[4] I:22.

[5] Even when people actually consume the stuff prescribed or offered, there is often no idea of medicinal qualities present. The Poison King (see below 322) gave his patients sacred ashes to eat. I saw him treating three patients with this "medicine" on the Karaikudi railway station on the 17:th October 1944. We may also think of women sipping the spill water from the temple gargoyle or any holy water. Other forces are at work, as when one has to mix one's own blood in love charms (I, 32) or woman's milk. While it is clear that people maintain a difference between this and medicine in the plain sense of the word, it is also true that the borders are often blurred, and people may take even the worst ingredients as medicine. I am thinking of a horrible stuff, black and sticky, made of lizards, which was for sale on the pavements of Mathurai in 1953.

Before the roots are used two processes may be necessary: Removal of curse and giving of life.

"In the case of any root one must go near it and tie Kāppu (a string around the root or the plant) and offer incense and repeat the following Mantra nine times: "Ōm Cakti curse, destroy, destroy, all curse, destroy, destroy, the curse of Cittar (persons having acquired miraculous power) destroy, destroy, the curse of the root (Mūlikai) destroy, destroy, the curse of all gods destroy, destroy. — Ōm Kāḷi Ōm Piṭāri Ōm Naci Maci Vaya Svāhā." When reading it the ninth time grip a leaf or take the plant with the two little fingers without letting the nails of any of the ten fingers touch it. If so done it will not lose its capacity but give success."[1]

When it is necessary to give life to the root, make the place around it clean, tie Kāppu and offer cooked rice, break a coconut and while offering incense and light repeat the following Mantra 32 times:

"Ōm Mūli all Mūli, thy life stay in thy body Svāhā". Then take the root. "If you don't give life to Mūlikais in that way, they will be of no use."[2]

The effective power of the Mūlikai, called Uyir which means both life and soul, must be protected, and one must prevent it from having noxious results as well as from being dissipated. — "Stay in thy body."

The roots are dried and ground into powder and mixed with some fluid and applied as a small circular mark on the forehead. Sometimes they are used whole in a casket as amulets. The mixture may also have to be eaten, but the effect is not necessarily with the person taking it. As one ritual has it: "This undoes the effect of medicine given by wives to husbands or husbands to wives, if mashed in ghee and given a man without passion (Virākaṉ i.e. an ascetic) to eat, even if the place (where the medicine has been administered) is unknown.[3] The ascetic eats it, but the effect is felt elsewhere.

The purposes of the rituals vary from the eight Karmas[4] to the killing of the headlouse, whereby all the other lice also die. The cure of dysentery and the finding out of stolen things are also achieved. In the second part a number of plants are spoken of as having different effects on different days, if tied on as amulets.

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[1] VI:12.

[2] VI:13.

[3] VI:18.

[4] See above 269.

VII. Number seven is called Malayāḷa Māntirīka Pōtiṉi (the teaching of Malayala Māntirīkam) and has Municami Mutaliyar as its author. It was printed in Madras 1950 and has 40 pages.

After Kāppu[1] the signs of the Zodiac pertaining to Māntirīkam are given with the special gifts a person will have according to his birth under such and such constellation. Aries, Cancer, Leo, Virgo and Libra are the signs in which he must be born, and in addition the planets must be in certain positions, if he is to become a man fit for Māntirīkam.

The book then offers tables of the correspondence between various phenomena, a systematic exposition of the five elements and their representations in letters, gods, forms, colours etc.[2] Earth, water, fire, wind and ether (Ākāyam) have different Cakkaraṅkaḷ; the earth a square, water a crescent moon (almost circular), fire a triangle, wind a hexagon and ether a circle. Each element is further represented by a specific letter, deity, form, angle, place, colour, Bīja (seed), vowel, bird, taste, number, Śakti, "breath-hand" (Cuvācattukai),[3] Ṛṣi, and "hour" (Nāḷikai). The Cakkaram of (the) earth for example" has the letter Na (the first syllable of the Pañcākṣaram, Namacivāya), the god Brahmā, the form (of) a young man (Pālaṉ), the angle (of a) square, its place in the foot, its colour golden, its Pījākṣaram Naim, its vowel A-yam, its bird the falcon, its taste sweetness, its number ten, its Śakti Sarasvatī, its "breath-hand" 16 fingers, its Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha, and its hour one and three quarter.

In the rituals these different representations belong together. Their power spheres are interrelated. When a Cakkaram of the earth or the wind is to be drawn the corresponding letters will be engraved, the appropriate god will be worshipped. He will be imagined as having the correct colour and accompanied by his Śakti. The role played by the five birds has been demonstrated

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[1] Kāppu here means an opening stanza which protects the book and 'binds' it as a sort of dedication to a god and its purpose.

[2] This can be traced back to Tantric literature. Cp.e.g. Dasgupta, Vajra and the Vajrasattvas, 23 ff., where a list is given of the 5 Dhyāni Buddhas, each having his specific location, colour, crest (Cakra, Vajra, Ratna etc.), Mudrā, Vāhana (vehicle), Bīja and Śakti.

[3] This means probably an imaginary hand stretching out with one's breath to a certain distance or with a certain number of fingers.

above.[1] All is worked into a system of instruments taken from many parts. Its background is formed by the theory of the Tattuvas, the breathing exercises of the Yoga, the old iconographic traditions of the gods as having different colours and Śaktis, the Tantric teaching of the seed-syllables (Bījākṣara) etc.

Only a few of the representations are made use of in this book. It begins with eight chief Mantras to Kaṇēcaṉ. They correspond with the eight Karmas as e.g. the chief Mantra of the Fierce Kaṇēcaṉ is equal to Māraṇam (killing) and runs as follows: "Sit on a leopard-skin facing southeast and repeat with the help of a Eṭṭi-nut[2] "Ōm Riṅ Naci" 1008 times. Then all diseases will come to an end. If one repeats it and thinks of the name of one's enemy, he will die, his body covered with fire."[3]

The eight Karmas are repeated under other headings and often have the double effect of checking diseases and driving out devils as well as doing harm to enemies. Stambhana for example can put a barrier to poison and devils and diseases but also make the tongue of the enemy stiff and useless.[4]

In all five different ways of performing the eight Karmas are taught. They are preceded by meditation on the gods of the five elements. Meditation on Brahmā shall be done in this way:

"Write in a quadrangle Vintu Vintu, and Ōm in the middle, and at the bottom of Ōm write Nam Naṅ Kili Rīṅ and repeat that Mantra. You will then have a vision of Brahmā and Sarasvatī and there will be all kinds of supernatural powers (Citti) and the blessing of sons."[5]

In another chapter use is made of the all-destroying Mantra of 'Murukaṉ with the spear'. It can cause a child which has died in the womb to be delivered, give immunity against poison, drive away black magic (Pillicūṉiyam), and cure leprosy and other dangerous diseases. — There is no limit to the effect of the rituals prescribed. Trees bend so that one can pluck their fruits. One can walk in rain without getting wet and walk on water and even raise the dead.

Notwithstanding the absurdities, the rituals follow the temple

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[1] See above 61 ff.

[2] Strychnos nux-vomica.

[3] VII, 10—11.

[4] VII, 18.

[5] VII, 11.

rites in many details. One ritual demands by way of preparation full morning worship with hand- and limb Niyācam.[1] In an exposition of the Five-syllable-formula (Pañcākṣaram) the five syllables are identified with the five Śaktis of Śiva and of his five faces.[2] It is added that if one pronounces these five syllables with that meaning, souls will attain both happiness and bliss, Bhoga-Mokṣa.

VIII. Number eight is called Kantar[3] Aṉupūti (Skt. Anubhūti), experiencing or realizing (the power of) Subramanyan. Aṉupūti (from Skt. Anu-bhū) is translated as "apprehension, realisation" by TL. The last word meets the point. The booklet was printed in Mathurai 1951 and is the fifth edition of the same book. It has 56 pages and its author is Arunakirinata Cuvami. It contains 51 rituals, all of the same pattern. Each ritual has a heading indicating its aim. Then follows a piece in poetry with explanation, where the god Subramanyan is praised or presented with his different names and attributes and the matter asked for (rather vaguely) hinted at. Next comes a picture of the Cakkaram different for each ritual, then the Basic Mantra, and finally a list of the things which have to be offered as Nivētaṉam with information of how many times the Mantra has to be read. By way of an introduction a general instruction is given as to how worship must be performed in all the rites. It follows here in translation:

"Wise people who wish to worship (*Ārātaṉai cey*) lord Kukaṉ[4] the younger son of Umā, whose form shines as the most appropriate teacher to all people in the world, should all in the first watch of the night, when the sun has descended into the sea of milk or in the fourth watch[5] make their bodies clean and dress in silk. Then with pure mind and concentrated thought they should sit on a deerskin in the Lotus posture or in the Easy posture (Cukācaṉam) facing northeast and draw the Cakkaram given below that piece of poetry, which is in accordance with the good things (Karma) he intends to do, on a sheet of gold, silver or copper and worship with fragrant

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[1] VII, 18. See above 78.

[2] Cp. above 122. Cp. Zieseniss, S. zur Geschichte des Śivaismus, 101 and 169.

[3] Skanda. Kantar Aṉupūti was celebrated as a festival 5/8—15/8 1953 in the Mīṉākṣi temple, Mathurai.

[4] Skt. Guha, name of Subramanyan, lit. "one who covers (a secret)", Apte. This name is significant for Subramanyan as the chief god for Māntirikam rites. Cp. above 301, note 2.

[5] Māntirikam should be performed at night, because when the sun is up, one must offer to the sun, says the foreword.

flowers (Arcci). Then with the help of a rosary he should repeat the Mantra every day as many times as they did the first day. When they then complete the performance by offering the Nivētaṉam indicated, all things will turn out successfully just as they were hoping.

As soon as one has sat down for worship one must first read the Mantra "binding the body" three times. This Mantra runs as follows: "Evā Evā Laṅ Maṅ Stampaya Civāya Namaha Aṅ Uṅ Ciṅ Kiliyum Avvum all curse destroy Maci Vaṅ Ciṅ Umpaṭu Cuvāhā".

It has already been pointed out that this corresponds to the "binding of the quarters (Tikkupantaṉam)" in the temple ritual.

The purpose to be achieved through the performance of these rituals is to a large extent different from the usual results desired:

	ritual no.
To obtain renunciation of the world (Tuṟavu)	4
To destroy illusion (Māyai)	5
To join women	9
To drive away Death (God Subramanyan is asked to appear on his peacock when Yamaṉ comes on his buffalo)	10
To reveal theft	12
To walk in darkness	13
To receive grace (Aṉukkirakam)	20
To obtain penance (Tapas)	22
To escape from being caught in the net of women	24
To appease the wrath of God (Kaṭavuḷ)	29
To argue a case (in court)	30
To escape from (re-)birth	39
To remove mental care	46

In all these cases the instruments are of the same kind. There is a Mantra and a Cakkaram and an offering, the ingredients of which are prescribed in detail, and the material on which the Cakkaram is to be engraved, is either gold, silver or copper, but the purpose of the rite may be the release from rebirth into this world.

Rituals hitherto described have been made to meet the need of an occasion, but they have sometimes implied the preservation of the effect achieved through the rite. The client was instructed to wear the copper sheet on which the Cakkaram was engraved on his person or to have the root (Mūlikai) tied on to himself. These are examples of a static form of the effect. The small cylinder, called Tāyittu, containing the Cakkaram with the Mantra, is worn by ever so many boys, even if they wear nothing

else. It is usually tied to a silver string around the hip. Small girls wear a silver piece in the shape of a heart or a leaf,[1] on which the sun and the crescent moon are engraved, to cover their pudenda. We find in the house of the Mantiravātis bracelets as covers for amulets securing easy delivery. The importance of amulets, however, is better realised from reading advertisements in the daily papers. In the Mail, Madras 1941, professor Shankoor of the Universal Yogic Culture and Healing Centre, Mount Road, Madras, announces the "Maha Saptasati Argala Kavach" for sale (Kavach= Kavacam means armour and 'magic' protection).

"It is the mightiest secret weapon of the Aryans. Thousand of years ago the ancient Tantric Yogis devoted their spiritual power for the happiness of mankind ... (It) protects from all sorts of crisis, evil influences of the stars, enemies, litigation, loss in business and wrong investment etc. It is a deadly weapon specially against evil influence and black magic.

50,000 Mantras are chanted along with the performance of the secret process in "Homah" with the offerings of various metals, stones, musk etc. The power is invoked in the Talisman by Japas (recital of Mantras) on the auspicious day of the year".

Besides this talisman mentioned above professor Shankoor is giving the following other Talismans:

"1. Praja Pati Vasikaran — for successful marriage and love affairs	Rs.	21.–
2. Maha Sakti Raka — for litigation	»	17.–
3. Maha Laxmi — for business	»	14.–
4. Mritunjaya Talisman — to prevent any danger and epidemics. It protects one from accidental death	»	41.–
5. Maha Santi — for domestic peace and harmony	»	11.–

All Talismans are guaranteed. Talisman may be returned within a fortnight if not satisfied".

The advertisement has a picture of "Maha Saptasati" (The great Seven-Śakti) as a woman with loose hair, husks, four arms and a necklace of human skulls. There is also a Cakkaram with the Zodiac, circles and triangles. The art of Vacīkaraṇam is recognized in talisman no. 1.

In the Hindu in October 1943 there was a big advertisement:

"Kali power to your aid. Kali special charms have been a Divine guidance to thousands of its Devotees. October the 27:th on which these charms are

[1] As from the Pipal tree which brings fecundity. Cp. Meyer, Trilogie, I, 231 ff.

prepared is indeed very auspicious. This year's celebrations are made most important on account of rare celestial configurations.

Kali special charms dispel the evil forces like magic and bring peace, prosperity and happiness".

There follow particulars and prices, but we will take them from another advertisement by the same firm on 28/3 1943. It covers half a page (!) and announces as follows:

"Navarozi Charms for specific objects.

10 times more powerful than general charms.

No 1. For employment.			
Spl. Navarozi for ordinary jobs	Rs.	3,–	
Spl. Habibi for higher appointments	»	24,–	
Navagraha Navarozi for executive posts	»	126,–	
No 2. For promotions.			
Spl. Navarozi for usual increments	»	9,–	
Spl. Habibi for higher grades	»	24,–	
Navagraha Navarozi for higher positions	»	126,–	
No 3. For success in examination.			
Spl. Navarozi up to high school examinations	»	9,–	
Spl. Habibi for college examinations	»	24,–	
Navagraha Navarozi for competitive and selection examinations	»	126,–	
No 4. Matrimonial.			
Spl. Navarozi for love and marriage without obstacles	»	15,–	
Spl. Habibi for more difficult cases	»	33,–	
Navagraha Navarozis for complicated matters	»	180,–	
No 5. For court cases.			
Spl. Navarozi for small cause matters	»	12,–	
Spl. Habibi for criminal or High Court cases	»	36,–	
Navagraha Navarozi for longstanding disputes	»	180,–	
No 6. For business success.			
Spl. for small traders	»	9,–	
Spl. Habibi for larger businesses	»	25,–	
Navagraha Navarozi for extensive business undertakings	»	126,–	
No 7. Securing transfers.			
Spl. Navarozi for cases without obstacles	»	15,–	
Spl. Habibi in unfavourable circumstances	»	33,–	
(Navagraha Navarozi not necessary for this)			
No 8. For special favours.			
Spl. Navarozi—favours from officials, friends or relations	»	12,–	
Spl. Habibi—favours involving financial gains	»	36,–	
Navagraha Navarozi for bigger contracts	»	150,–	
No 9. For financial gain.			
Spl. Navarozi—from expected and legitimate source	»	21,–	
Spl. Habibi—bigger gains from unknown sources	»	45,–	
Navagraha Navarozi from speculative enterprises	»	195,–	

No 10.	Curing diseases.		
	Spl. Navarozi for simple ailments	Rs.	15,–
	Spl. Habibi for curable but longstanding complaints	»	39,–
	Navagraha—incurable diseases	»	180,–
No 11.	Social success, leadership or domestic happiness.		
	Spl. Navarozi — if required in a circle of friends	»	9,–
	Spl. Habibi for constant family troubles, leadership, salesmanship etc.	»	24,–
	Navagraha suitable for a lawyer, leadership over masses & for a national leader	»	128,–
No 12.	For personal protection.		
	Spl. Navarozi for civilians	»	9,–
	Spl. Habibi for fighting forces	»	24,–
	Navagraha for commanding officers	»	128,–

"Special Navarozi lasts for one year and supplied in a square silver locket.

Special Habibi lasting for a life time supplied in an exquisite silver gold gilt locket.

Navagraha Navarozi lasting for a life time is issued in 18 ct. exquisite gold pendant with nine genuine planetary stones.

Special Habibi charm (for one object). This charm for specific object is prepared to suit individual requirements, and its powers are highly concentrated to act on one object. Brings marvellous and very quick results. Decanted (!) at the most auspicious time of Navarozi and takes further three days for final ceremony. Contains rare herbs with magic powers.

Navagraha Navarozi (for one object). The most powerful of all the charms with the individual influence of each ruling planet specially invoked and incorporated in a manner that the combined strength of all the nine planets pull in the same direction for the fulfilment of the particular object for which it is prepared. It is set with 9 first class genuine planetary stones, such as Ruby, Pearl, Coral, Emerald, Pukhraj, Diamond, Sapphire, Agate and Cat's eye. Takes 5 weeks to complete all the Navagraha ceremonies and to fix each planetary stone. It is by far the highest form of divine protection ever conferred on man".

A Muhammedan firm in Bombay with telephone and registered telegraphic address is the advertiser. They offer to send a 96-page book of testimonials on receipt of one anna in postage stamps. Some letters gratefully acknowledging the success of the charms are printed in the advertisements. Hindus, Muhammedans and Christians are among the signatories. Some thank for cure of illness, some for progeny, others have got the jobs they desired, and one man says he was saved from becoming panicky during the bombing of Vizagapatam in 1942. The signatories have in most cases attached their addresses. They are numbered by the firm, their highest number being 4391. If it can be assumed that they are

genuine and the counting starts from 1, it gives an idea of how widespread the use of charms must be in India. Surely not one tenth will care to write letters.

The words Kāḷi and Extra Kāḷi are exchanged for the words Navarozi and Habibi[1] in an earlier advertisement of 1942 by the same firm thus preventing any conclusion that Islamic concepts dominate the practice. There are several similar advertisements by Hindus:

"Raj Jyotishi, world famous astrologer and Tantric (address Calcutta). He has acquired an uncommon power by Yoga and Tantra in redressing the evil influence of stars and in bringing sure success in complicated law suits, in curing incurable diseases. Santi Kavacha. It brings peace of mind, happiness in the family, heals diseases, saves from accident, premature death, fire and theft, assures success in examinations. The wearer of this jewel is saved from all sorts of trouble. Ordinary Rs. 5,–. Special (ready action) Rs. 20,– only. Bagala Kavacha. It helps to gain success in occupation etc. Nrisinha Kavacha. It helps to cure all sorts of diseases etc."

Another advertisement is published by the All India Astrological and Astronomical Society (estd. 1907 A.D.!) It also offers several Kavachas. Interesting is the Bashikaran Kavacha which brings the desired person under absolute control, price 11—8—0 or with immediate effect 34—2—0. This is Vaciyam. Bashikaran stands for Vaśīkaraṇa.[2]

The amulets are just Māntirīkam ready made. The instruments have been prepared by others and are displayed for sale according to the different purposes. We find as instruments the position of the stars, their worship, different metals, rare herbs, nine precious stones, Mantras, Homa sacrifice, and worship of the gods. All these elements represent means to achieve different purposes. Their use is more due to an unlimited trust in divine or supernormal possibilities (Cp. above: "It is by far the highest form of divine protection ever conferred on man") — than to an attitude of self- assertion of one who disposes these powers at will, and not at all due to self-reliance in the sense of one who trusts his own power as is often taken to be the characteristics of magic. The result is dependent on the right moment and the right method. It can not be hurried. In order to achieve a good result in a difficult situation three weeks or five weeks are necessary for preparation. The indirect as-

[1] Persian-Arabic origin. [2] Cp. above 270.

pect is thus clearly maintained. "Navarozi is considered to be an invincible power ... the marvellous achievement of ancient sages ... 21:st March is the only day on which this great power is invoked".

c. *Summary of purposes in Māntirīkam.*

The handbooks offer a survey of the instances of unforeseen crises, when Māntirīkam is resorted to. The most common aim of performing the ritual is to cure diseases. As regards diseases the rituals are, however, both curative and prophylactic, but prophylax means averting the threatening evil influence of the planets. The ritual is generally good for more than one kind of disease as e.g. fever, convulsion, dysentery and boils are cured in the same way. Diseases[1] which can be cured through Māntirīkam are: fever, dysentery, general weakness, headache, stomachache, scrofula, fits, swelling of the body, cancer, rash, boils and even broken and distorted limbs.[2] Often the symptoms of the disease appear in the rituals as e.g. loose motion, vomiting, growing thin, drooping the head, perspiring, yawning, crying, red eyes, giddiness, swelling etc. Children's diseases are specially dealt with.[3] Many kinds of women's diseases are treated and recipes are given for easy delivery[4] as well as for causing pregnancy. Treatment of mental derangement is scarce, because such cases come under possession and the cure is driving out the devil, of which we shall hear presently. — Various kinds of Tōṣam[5] are treated.

Next to diseases comes help against poisoning. There are various rites for poison cases as well as for bites of snakes, scorpions, rats and insects.[6]

"The Poison King, Ellamanur" is the registered telegraphic address of a Mantiravāti, who undertakes to cure all snakebites and other kinds of poisoning. One should only send him a wire with the name of the patient. He will then immediately proceed to his Pūcai-room and read Mantras before the image of Subrama-

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[1] The diseases are named as they appear in the handbooks, and no attempt is made to apply proper medical terms.

[2] II, 69.

[3] Cp. above 295.

[4] III, 40.

[5] See above 216. Examples are found in II, 120, III, 4, IV, 47, and V, 4.

[6] I, 35, II, 76, IV, 45, 46, 55, V, 24, 53.

nyan. I have met him twice and have his letter heading with his telegraphic address printed. He told me that he never failed in his practice. The gardener of one of the professors in the Madras Christian College, I am told, was allowed to send a telegram to the Poison King, when his son was bitten by a snake. On the 28:th July 1946, the Poison King, whose name is M.S. Duraiswamy Aiyar of Ammangudi, Jiyapuram P.O., was on his way to Madras to stay in the Hotel Everest. He had advertised his coming on a printed pamphlet, where he promised to cure "incurable cases like hysteria-fits, tuberculosis and insanity". In the pamphlet he also invited people to send telegrams in cases of snake bite.

Many rites aim at freeing children from fear, which is sometimes taken as the cause of disease.[1]

The effects of the rites is often said to be the removal of Pīṭai, a word which means affliction and also more specifically the evil influence of the planets (TL). Many rituals are prescribed for diseases and other evils caused through the influence of the planets. Pīṭai can also be caused by an enemy.[2]

Other "accidents" for which Māntirīkam offers help are vermin, cattle plague, fire etc.[3]

Many rituals aim at driving out evil spirits or at their control. "If you go and stand in front of a woman possessed by an evil spirit (*Pēy Piṭitta*) after you have read the Mantra and performed the rite, it will go away at once."[4] The evil spirits named Pēy, Picācu, Pūtam are driven away along with enemies and black magic. The ritual is not only for casting out devils from persons suffering from their grasp but also for clearing a place of their haunting. For this latter use, a stick is often prepared by which the ground is beaten.[5] The preparation of the stick means making it an object of worship while the Pūcai is being performed. The power invoked during the act is transplanted to the stick. With the stick in his hand one need only stand in front of the possessed persons, men or women, and the devils will run away.[6] — One can be freed from the

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[1] III, 4, IV, 16, 33, II, 47, 54.
[2] II, 47, 57, 69, 78, III, 53.
[3] II, 59, V, 23, 53 — II, 61 — II, 60.
[4] V, 45.
[5] III, 56
[6] III, 36.

fear of evil spirits. If one has to pass a place haunted by them, the stick will keep them away.[1]

The common expression "drive (away)" (Ōṭṭutal) is sometimes substituted by "cause to dance and drive (away)" (Āṭṭiyōṭṭutal). This means that the spirit is made to speak through the possessed person while dancing under the influence of the spirit. Sometimes the spirit is lazy or unwilling to speak, but it can be forced to do it.[2]

The attacks of evil spirits are unpredictable. One must always be on one's guard and have remedies ready for averting the evil. Men can also cause danger and damage, sometimes quite unintentionally, e.g. the well wishes or praises offered by an inauspicious person.[3] It is called Nāvēṟu or Nāvūṟu (TL) in Tamil.[4] The evil eye is a similar danger, although it may glow with the fire of malign intention as well as just happen to belong to a person whose eyesight in itself causes loss.[5] In Tamil the same word is used in both cases, Ūṟu, which means evil, killing, destruction. The term is thus Kaṇṇ(=eye)ūṟu. The Sanskrit term Tiruṣṭitōṣam (Dṛṣṭi-doṣa) is also used.[6]

Things lost through theft or otherwise can be found by means of Māntirīkam.[7]

Māntirīkam is needed to counteract the effects of its own rituals. This is clear from the example in one of the handbooks of how one can "bind" a dog through the rites and make it quiet and harmless. Another act of Māntirīkam is needed to make it return to its normal

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[1] II, 55.

[2] At least fifty references can be made to rituals dealing with evil spirits. As they are very much of the same pattern it will suffice to mention a few, viz. II, 6, 37, 84; III, 5, 36, 42; V, 10, 45.

[3] Cp. above 182.

[4] For examples see II, 68, 74, 120; V, 9. — Cp. the common practice of a mother counteracting the praise bestowed on her child by strangers by abusing it.

[5] For the evil eye as an accidental not intentional evil see Hartland, Ritual and Belief, 78.

[6] V, 9. A common device to avert the evil eye is a pot with white spots (or white-painted with black spots). Around Tiruvallur, Chingleput district, obscene figures made of straw are placed in the middle of ripening fields to avert the blight of the eyes. In a row of new built houses near Pandur in the same district, there was a piece of a pot on every roof. These are all Tuṣṭaparikāram, a general term for remedying evil influences.

[7] II, 7; III, 16; IV, 51, 52; V, 21.

life. The power released through the ritual can only be controlled by another rite. There are many examples of people attacking each other through the help of Māntirīkam or Pillicūṉiyam ("black magic"). If a person is attacked with Pillicūṉiyam, it is necessary for him to find the instrument, which in such cases is called a command (Ēval) or a deposit (Vaippu) and consists of a Mantra and a Cakkaram and some substances like hair, a piece of cloth (defiled through ceremonial impurity or otherwise charged with some power) etc. and has been deposited by an enemy either near his house or at the burning ground. A very bad way of attacking a person is to write a spell against him and make a doll representing the poor victim and after cursing it, tear it all to pieces and throw it in a river. In that case the deposited spell can not be recovered and its effect undone. The only remedy is to "find an even more powerful Mantiravāti who can neutralize the evil".[1] Many rituals aim at counteracting Pillicūṉiyam.[2]

Pillicūṉiyam is supposed to cause the falling of stones, hair, rubbish and dirt in a house. Three examples will show what it is and how people react in connection with these attacks. Here are first two incidents narrated by theological students of the Gurukul College at Madras in 1944. The first student says:

"Once when I was passing through the bazaar at Nakai I saw a number of people running towards a rich man's house. I too ran and watched them. Stones, hairs, and such rubbish were falling on the house. The inmates as well as a few outsiders cleared it away, but after 15 minutes the same thing happened again. All people were astonished and nobody knew where the things came from. A band of policemen came and were watching the street. Even then the same thing happened. Now the people left the house and went to stay with some relatives for about a week. As soon as they had left, the "rain" stopped. Then they called a Māntirīkaṉ and asked him to sacrifice fowls etc. to the gods at the dead of night in the burial ground. For three days they sacrificed. On the fourth day the spirit came upon the Maṉtiravāti and he told the house-owner that some enchantment (Ēval) was buried near the door of that house. When people dug on that spot they found the thing and burned it. The people again occupied the house, and from that day nothing untoward happened".

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[1] Informant: Duraiswamy Iyer, the "Poison King". Cp. above 313 a prescription which undid the effect of a Vaippu even when its place was unknown.

[2] II, 74 ... "good for Pillicūṉiyam, Ēval, Kaṇṇēṟu, Nāvēṟu ..." III, 54.

The other student says:

"There was a Christian family at Poreyar (Tanjore district). The head of the family died and his widow sold their house to a Muhammedan. He asked her and her two daughters to vacate the house, but she asked permission to stay another three months, and the new owner consented. While the three women were thus living in the house they used the doors, windows and doorposts as firewood. One day the Muhammedan came there by chance and saw that nothing made of wood was left in the house. He scolded the widow and told her to vacate the house immediately. But she refused. Then the Muhammedan performed the art of Pillicūṉiyam, and at night the house was filled with dirty things coming even on the food. For about a week this went on. Then the women could not stand it any longer and left the house, and from that moment the falling stopped".

The third example is told by a Swedish missionary at Mathurai.

In April 1946 he was called one evening to the house of one of the mission clerks. The family was disturbed by the falling of stones inside the house. The missionary himself saw it, and a piece of brick fell on his leg. In spite of careful checking they could not find out where the stones were coming from. The family had to move out of the house with their servant girl. The falling of stones ceased in the old house but began in the same way at their new quarters. People suspected the girl to be the cause of the evil, and she was sent home to her village. Then everything was quiet again. Their explanation was not that the girl had been throwing the stones, but that she was of an age when evil powers are at work. The clerk called a Muhammedan Mantiravāti. He located the cause of the evil to a place about a mile and a half to the west. A Pillicūṉiyakāran (performer of Pillicūṉiyam) who lived in that direction was supposed to be the guilty person. Later the clerk called another wizard who promised to stop the falling of stones. He would come in the evening and perform the necessary ceremonies, but the missionary interfered and stopped it.[1]

The occurrence of Muhammedans as performers of Pillicūṉiyam is noteworthy. The deposit is the instrument. It must be removed or counteracted. Just as the instruments can be effective for the good of individuals, their effect can be very strictly limited to some particular persons in a certain place for a certain time like the amulets. In the first instance the remedy involves an act of finding out the cause by sacrificing to the gods. The sacrifice of a particular place and at a particular time is the means of making the god descend and reveal the secret. — They are good examples of how people think in these matters. Even among educated people, even

[1] A typewritten report from the missionary is available.

among Christians, conceptions of such causes and remedies are not unknown.

Pillicūṉiyam can damage property, kill people, bind their movements etc. according to the eight Karmas.[1] One instance more may be quoted to show how real this danger is felt to be. On the 22:nd August 1946 at about 3 P.M. there was some noise in the street outside my house (No. 1, Madavakkam Street, Kilpauk, Madras). A crowd of about 70—100 people was shouting and arguing. It moved slowly towards the centre of the city. From our servants I learnt what had happened. Some days before children had been kidnapped in several places, and there was a general scare.[2] Now they had caught the offender. He had enticed a child so that "it had lost its nature, through which it belongs to its parents, and followed him". My gardener said that he was using a small mirror, on which he applied some ink.[3]

"With the mirror, which caught the eye of the child, and a rattling box containing quarter anna coins, he attracted the child and gave it some oil to drink. The child became giddy and no longer acted as the child of its parents. Several children had been enticed in that way. They were meant to be sacrificed for a new bridge, which in spite of all efforts had cracked and fallen when it was just ready. It is no use taking such a man to the police; they will simply let him go. The crowd beat him till he fell down, a hundred yards from our house". —

This is my gardener's story of the incident which I saw happen outside my house. It is a fact that the man was killed on the spot, in the open street, a big thoroughfare of Madras — and that he was quite innocent. We have here an example of Vaciyam or taking a person in one's hold. We have also a clear indication of what Pillicūṉiyam means to common people.

There are different kinds of Vaciyam. One book gives the following varieties: Vaciyam of kings, of women, of animals, of snakes, of the world (Lōkam, all people in the world come under one's control and give everything one asks for), of enemies and, all-Vaciyam

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[1] See above 269.

[2] On the 23:rd August 1946 there was an article in the Madras Mail: "Kidnapping scare baseless, says Police Commissioner.
Innocent people attacked by mobs".
The article goes on to say that more than a dozen people were severely beaten in the streets and at least two man-handled to death.

[3] Cp. the "black spot" (Karumpuḷḷi) 311.

(If you give the prescribed ingredients to people you like, they will never be separated from you). Gods also come under the control of Vaciyam with the help of herbs. The Vilvam (Bael, Aegle marmelos) controls Viṉāyakar, the Koṉṟai (Indian laburnum) controls Subramanyan, the Aracu (Pipal, Ficus religiosa) controls the Trimūrtti (Brahmā-Śiva-Viṣṇu).[1]

For Mōkaṉam (fascination) eight varieties are given and so also for Tampaṉam (the art of staying things). Among the latter there are rites for stopping weapon, fire and water.[2]

So far we have been dealing with unforeseen crises and also found how such crises can be brought about by Pillicūṉiyam. To a great extent Māntirīkam aims at averting the crisis or healing the damage. It is, however, also practised with a view to obtaining some boon. A large number of the rituals aim at success in general. All handbooks begin by telling how one should make sure of success in reading Mantras. The art is, naturally, under the patronage of Kaṇēcaṉ, the god everybody must worship before any undertaking. Kaṇēcaṉ has more shrines than any other god in South India, and just as he stands at the entrance of all Śiva temples, reminding those who enter of the necessity of making a good beginning by worshipping him, so also the handbooks have first of all a Viṉāyakar=Kaṇēca-Upācaṉā Mantra or a Kāppu. Both expressions can be rendered "drawing the power of Kaṇēcaṉ into one's undertaking".

Special advantages to be obtained through the various rites are victory in competition,[3] wisdom,[4] wealth,[5] favour from one's Guru (Kurukaṭākṣam), which is necessary for the successful handling of Māntirīkam. It is analogous to the Upanayana ceremony when the Guru whispers the sacred, secret Mantra in the ear of the disciple. In the same way Māntirīkam is taught by a Guru and must be performed by his grace.[6] Other more unusual boons are: success in speech, poetical gifts, ability to see things which one has only heard of, acquisition of things from foreign countries,

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[1] VI, 66.
[2] VI, 24—32.
[3] III, 15; V, 20.
[4] III, 5; II, 110.
[5] I, 21; II, 92.
[6] II, 108; VIII, 49. The inconcistency in using an instrument for obtaining this prerequisite for the use of instruments is not clear to the performer.

good luck in fishing, employment, interviews with persons in high positions, children, loyalty of women. An extraordinary benefit from the practice of Māntirīkam is indicated with the word Mokṣa-prāpti (obtaining final liberation).

As a final remark about the purpose of Māntirīkam it should be said that it aims at relief and help in man's vital problems and it must not be taken to have value as a matter of curiosity.[1] The purpose is specified and precise, whereas at temple visits the worshipper alone may be aware of his desired object. But in the list of Arccaṉai and in the special character of a place of pilgrimage the specification of purpose is maintained also in temples.

d. *Summary of instruments in Māntirīkam.*

The instruments used by the Mantiravāti are first of all the Mantras, the powerful composition of sentences, words and syllables.

Secondly he almost invariably draws a Cakkaram or a Yantra, which is often worn as an amulet.

These elements are accompanied by a ritual of worship implying a preparation of his own body and mind. The worship consists of the common Pūcai with light and incense and Nivētaṉam. The object of worship has to be created for the occasion either as a Yantra (meaning the Cakra engraved on a sheet of metal) or as a leaf drawn by powder on the ground, or as a pot (Kumpam), or as an idol of dough or saffron (a Piḷḷaiyār).

Neither as details nor as complete entities are these three parts of the Māntirīkam ritual foreign to the temple rituals. One must give up the attempt to find a principle for making a distinction as regards the method between one ritual and another. In so far as

[1] If this aspect is overlooked, one might be tempted to think of Māntirīkam as Filliozat opines about possession: "La foi en la possession démoniaque est de la plus extrême banalité et il serait sans intérêt d'étudier la démonologie indiénne si cette étude n'était que l'occasion de constater l'existence de cette foi et d'en préciser les modalités" (Filliozat, Kumāratantra, Introduction, I). The reasons for paying attention to the subject Filliozat finds in the fact that it has formed part of Indian medicine and is widely spread. — The mere fact that it is a manifestation of man's behaviour warrants our interest in Māntirīkam, but its background of human need and longing adds an impetus to the study.

'magic' is conceived as a means to an end, the use of the word magic in this connection is entirely unsatisfactory. If we were to call Māntirīkam 'magic' — which might be quite acceptable from the point of view of common terminology — the temple rituals should be qualified in the same way, but on that application of the term there might not be common agreement.

To avoid this difficulty we have raised the question how far the aspect of instrument and purpose is applicable to all the rites. But before drawing final conclusions it might be good to pick out some more details of instrumental character in the Māntirīkam rituals and compare them with the other rituals.

The time is fixed according to astrological calculations and can rarely be chosen at random for any ritual. The Māntirīkam handbooks prescribe a Sunday or Friday as an auspicious day, three o-clock in the morning, the first watch of the night or the last watch of the night etc. The choice of the right time is an indispensible part of the ritual, and this rule applies to the temples also. The ritual has a fixed timetable. There are moments of a critical character (Piratōṣam). The festivals take place according to the predictions of the almanac. In the home rituals the time 3¾ Nāḻikai before sunrise is the best time. Other hours are less beneficial. The importance of an auspicious moment for the completion of a marriage and other Saṃskāras is very evident. — The choice of time as part of the ritual is an effective instrument of an indirect character, because it is not related to the object in view. The right moment for ploughing has not arrived when a good rain has softened the hard crust of the soil but is the date indicated in the almanac.[1]

The choice of colour is significant. In the systematic arrangement of interrelated, effective elements,[2] five different colours have their places. The yellow colour is auspicious. Pilgrims on their way to the Vēṅkaṭēcaṉ temple at Tirupati, one of the chief places of pilgrimage in South India, wear yellow clothes. Yellow is the wedding colour. A merry ceremony, called "playing with yellow water" (Mañcaḷnīrāṭutal) forms part of the wedding ritual. Turmeric water is waved in front of an idol to remove the blight of evil eyes (W). Guests are on any happy occasion offered yellow

[1] On this point the author had several disputes with the superintendent of the mission farm at Mathurai.

[2] Above 314.

turmeric to smear their hands and faces. Even if this habit in daily practice comes very near the use of perfumes, the colouring of the Palmyra roots[1] shows that there is more in it than that.

The five-coloured string is another effective instrument.[2] The colours are: white, black, red, yellow and green. But the emphasis is on the number. When a temple is built, five metals (Pañcalōkam, i.e. gold, iron, copper, lead and silver) must be buried under the place where the idol is going to be situated. The five elements (Pañcapūtam) is another set of five and we have seen how other things are ranged along with them in the same number. The name of the almanac is Pañcāṅkam (=five parts). There are five evils, five sins, five birds for augury, five fires for the ascetic, five products of the cow. The land of the five rivers (Punjab) is famous for sacred bathing. There are five ways of achieving one's own objects (Pañcatantra). In a ritual for removal of the malign influence of the planets one must offer five kinds of rice etc. — Other numbers having special significance in the rituals are three and its multiples, The sipping of water (Ācamaṉam) takes place three times. As a prophylactic method against children's diseases one must touch them with margosa leaves dipped in water from three wells. We have nine planets, nine kinds of grain, nine precious stones etc.

Numbers play a part in many ways. A small booklet, printed in Madras 1946 deals with the combination of figures and the effect of certain combinations (Toṭukuṟicāstiram=the "science" of touching signs). Numbers are arranged on amulets so as to form the same total, whether they are added perpendicularly or horizontally. Elaborate arrangements of the kind are also found in the Qanoon-e-Islam, ed. Herklots, p. 231. Even numbers are considered unlucky. In any subscription list one can find amounts donated at the rate of 51, 101, 501, and 1001. A lease agreement in Mathurai in 1937 was written for seven years and eleven months. Such instances are innumerable.

The effect increases with the number. A Mantra must be read 108 times, but if circumstances are difficult, it will be necessary to raise the number to 1008. The "Poison King"[3] uses a small spear of silver for healing purposes. He informed the author that he had

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[1] I, 8. See above 283.

[2] Cp. Meyer, op. cit. II:168.

[3] See above 322.

performed five Laṭcārccaṉam (worship 100,000 times) to make it effective, and he produced proceedings signed by a number of people to prove it. Six Brāhmans had been showering flowers over the image of Subramanyan while muttering the name of the god 5×100×1008 times. It took three days and the ceremony was closed with a Homa sacrifice.[1]

In the preface to Śrī Viṣṇu Sahasra Nāma Stotra, Ramanuja-cariyan, the compiler, says:

"Great people teach that praising Viṣṇu with 1000 names removes sins and gives good things for this life and the life to come and is powerful (*Vallatu*) enough to give salvation hereafter to those who read as well as to those who listen."

Even in the practice of praising the gods the number becomes an instrument of power. The effect is assured only if the number is complete. The importance of this is evident from a story about Viṣṇu, who dug out his own eye to make up for one flower missing, when he was worshipping Śiva with 1000 lotus flowers. What tradition has turned into a supreme act of devotion is really a sign of anxiety and care lest the whole thing should fail.[2]

The power of metals has been indicated. Five kinds of metal lie under the idol. The material of which the amulet is made is important. For more difficult cases gold must be used. "The golden sheet alone will yield result very quickly"[3]. The Poison King told me that he used gold for cases of insanity. In the advertisement for the Navarozi amulets we read that Navagraha Navarozi lasting for a lifetime was issued in 18 ct. exquisite gold pendant with nine genuine planetary stones. The metals are graded with regard to their effect. The wider concept of metals as effective in different connections must be left out of view.[4]

The Cakra may be kept as a permanent instrument. The Man-

[1] Cp. above 124. At the Kāmākṣi Ammaṉ temple Tanjore a sacrifice (Yajña) with a view of offering 100 millions Arccaṉai to the goddess was begun in 1947. On Dec. 12:th 1951 60 millions had been completed "for the establishment of peace and plenty in the country". An advertisment announces that the completion of ten million Arccaṉai with sacred basil will take place on 5:th March 1943 and adds: "All these prayers ensure victory for the Allies and bring peace and prosperity to our land".

[2] Māṇikka Vācakar, Tirucāḷal, 18.

[3] VIII, Preface.

[4] Cp. Eliade, Metallurgy.

tiravātis keep such coppersheets with the Cakkaram engraved on them as part of their equipment. They can be used again and again. At the time of their use they will become the object of worship and occupy the place of an idol.[1] When a ritual says: "Through this goddess many things will turn out successfully"[2] the word goddess can be exhanged for the word Cakra. The Mantiravāti deals with gods and goddesses as does the Pūcāri or Paṭṭar of the temples, — Aṉuṣṭāṉam (the daily rites) are necessary preliminaries to him as well as to them — but the gods become the means for obtaining the desired objects. The Mantiravāti chooses to worship the god, whose power is effective for the particular purpose. Just as in Ṛg. I:50, Sūrya is called upon to cure a case of jaundice or as it is said in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā II, 1,12: "To Indra-Bṛhaspati should sacrifice the king who is not successful in his enterprises",[3] we find in the Māntirīkam handbooks advice as to which god should be worshipped for a certain purpose. The Cakra is prepared in order to secure an abiding presence of his power. The worship of a god is part of the method, but in making use of the specified influence of the gods the Mantiravāti does not stand apart from the temple priests.

The Mantiravātis are not having a religion of their own. Their method is quite consistent with the general religious outlook. They count with gods and demons in the same way as others do. They worship them, and they are not less devout than the temple priests. Nevertheless their practice is different from ordinary temple worship. They have a private practice, generally open to the public without distinction. In this they differ from the Purohits, who are

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[1] The word 'fetish' might present itself, but it is avoided here in view of the divergent opinions about the usefulness of the term. Cp. EB s.v. "... an ill-defined term". "The term is commonly understood to mean the worship of or respect for material, inanimate objects conceived as magically active from a virtue inherent in them temporarily or permanently". Cp. to this Gusinde's words in Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche s.v. "Nicht das sinnlich wahrnehmbare Object ist Gegenstand der Devotion sondern ein Höheres Wesen" (with reference also to Dravidian usage). It seems unnecessary to increase the difficulties of terminology by adding new definitions. Cp. above 30, note 1.

[2] I, 28.

[3] Translation from Söderblom, Främmande Religionsurkunder II, 1, 14 and 83.

family priests attending to certain groups only. They are also not like the latter serving and officiating at the regular festival occasions of life, birth, marriage, and death. But in some respects Purohits and Mantiravātis are akin.[1] An actual situation in life will exemplify it. Into the shop of a glass merchant of China Bazaar Road, Madras, comes the Purohit. He sits down at a little distance from the customers and begins to read from the Pañcāṅkam the horoscope for the day. Such and such actions may be done, but such and such things should be avoided. He is offered some betel and flowers and paid his fee, and off he goes to another client of his. Similarily people will go to the astrologer to find out about the day and to the Mantiravāti to find remedy, if anything is wrong. The recruitment of Mantiravātis is not limited as strictly as in the case of those who officiate in the temples. Anyone can become Mantiravāti, but certain groups take to the profession more readily than others. Important is the fact that they cross the borders between different religion. Many Muhammedans are Mantiravātis. This makes no difference to the clientele, which in all cases consists of members from all strata of society.

Mantiravātis are attending to the need of individuals, and the main characteristics of their activity are control and directing to a specific end. When worship forms a part of their method, it is a means, not an end in itself. The paraphernalia of worship are all used by them and many other things. They are the instruments.

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[1] Cp. Henry (La magie dans l'Inde Antique, 38—39) who finds only a difference in degree between the Brāhman of the royal court and the village Mantiravāti. Cp. also Karambelkar, Brāhman and Purohita, 293 ff. The Purohit is the Atharvan priest and the most important "for the defence of king and people", Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda, 30.

Chapter IV

CONCLUSIONS

A. Instruments and the third factor

The characteristics of instruments are found right through the material presented; in the temple rituals; in the rites performed at home and also in the many acts of precaution and remedying, resorted to at times of crisis. They can all be classified as intentional acts implying a reference to a third factor. This applies to the many parts of which the ritual is built up, viz. Mudrās, Nyāsas, Mantras, Bījas, numbers, colours, metals, herbs, arrangements, personal equipment (of caste, initiation, instruction etc.), ingredients etc. as well as to the rites themselves. These can be made the subject of investigation in their own capacity in ethnographic studies yielding as result expositions of their historical and various other connections.[1] — The rites as such can also be studied from the point of view of their place in the life of society and their hold on the individual. His participation in the ritual celebrations may, e.g. be an unreflected expression of social behaviour. But we are concerned only with the question if they can be correctly and clearly conceived as instruments.

All evidences presented on the previous pages have gone to show the indirect character of the rites and their component parts. Rites

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[1] In most cases people can offer no explanation of the various rites, at least very seldom the real one. It is, of course, reasonable to think that there was a time when the details of the method had more direct contact with people's experience and thinking. In trying to discover such connections, however, one must remember that a rite is essentially a thing which "passes understanding", and also take into account that fabrication and wilful combination of disparate elements may have played a part in making up the details of some of the Māntirikam rituals. Cp. Rice, Hindu customs, 155.

cannot be conceived apart from that additional element, which we call the third factor in order to maintain a neutral stand as regards its conception. Rites have no meaning without an open or implied reference to it. If man were to exercise "his own inherent supernatural powers"[1], he would not be in need of a ceremony or a rite, i.e. an instrument. He would use his power in a direct way as (not like) a divine being.[2] — The reference to a third factor is also inferred from the fact that the rite is not effective in itself like an arrow, which kills by being an arrow. An act of Māraṇam kills, because it brings other factors into play. Rites bring about changes in a way which is different from man's ordinary work. They are more than tools. They have a significance[3], which means that they are not self-contained operative units but always have a reference to an additional factor, while at the same time they as instruments make the result assured.[4] These two aspects are not conflicting. They are inherent in the very idea of an instrument.

The word significance will form a clue to the point of contact

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[1] James, Comparative Religion, 62.

[2] When Jesus said to the wind and the sea: 'Peace, be still' (Mk. 4,39), he uttered a direct command. A Mantiravāti would accompany his words with gestures and formulae and ceremonies, but "indecorum deo est, non ipsum per se posse, sed externarum adminiculis rerum sanitatem incolumitatemque praestare" (Arnobius, Adversus nationes I, 48, quoted from Ehnmark, Antropomorphism and Miracle, 34.)

The old sages of India spoke their effective curses on the strength of the power they had acquired through their Tapas (asceticism), and which was not originally their own.

Cp. also van Gennep, Les rites de passage, 10: "Par rite direct on entendra celui qui possède une vertu efficiente", but "Les rites indirects ne sont pas nécessairement animists". It is more correct to say: "Les rites dynamistes" are also indirect, because the "vertu" is not inherent in the instrument but is acquired through rites".

[3] "They stand for something", Goode, Magic and Religion, 173.

[4] This will characterize the rites as long as they are conceived as man's actions. Even his efforts to reduce human action to a minimum will not make the instrumental character of a ritual disappear easily. Take for example the German word "Gottesdienst", which in Evangelical theology might well be translated God's service to man and thus seemingly mean the opposite to worship in the sense of man's action. In its use for 'Divine service' it may, however, still convey the meaning of an arrangement, by which man actualizes God's dealing with him and in fact be equal to Āvāhaṇam (the invocation of a god to be present).

with the third factor. It is almost an axiom to say that rites are not just the thing that meets the eye. They have to be explained. Their meaning must be laid bare in an exposition which involves many references to tenets of psychology, the mental outlook of the worshipping crowd, and above all to symbolisms of manifold philosophical connections. (There is little difference between the efforts of scholars to understand the meaning of rites as half conscious expressions of emotional tensions in bygone days and the way in which the modern Hindu reads their symbolism in a philosophical context.[1] On this formal point they agree; the rites have a meaning.). The five faces of Śiva with their manifestations in forms, in Mantras, and in different parts of the body[2] etc., the eight Śaktis, the five enclosures (Āvaraṇam) etc. give ample evidence of the symbolical character of the ritual.[3] It is the same with the acts of worship. Nivētaṇam, for example, is by nobody taken to mean real feeding of the gods. The rationalistic interpretations, on the other hand, that the gods consume the essence or that it is an act of gratitude or humble service on the part of men, fall wide off the mark. The formal point is important. It makes sense to man in creating a good relationship between him and factors which would or might otherwise disturb his balance of mind.

The rite has a significance. It means something. A few remarks on the word significance may be of value for the understanding of the part played by the third factor in a wider sense, of which there are traces in this material from South India and the more so when the vivid experience of living gods is beginning to fade out. Then the significance in a quite formal sense retains a hold on people. Few people will care to ask what the significance is, e.g. of a festival in South India, but their behaviour betrays a reluctance to lose this formal contact with the third factor, as they would, if they were to say: "Our taking part in this festival has no meaning".

In order to understand the general implication of the word

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[1] See for example Jagadisa Ayyar, South Indian Festivities, 5, 25, 26, 86 et passim.

[2] See above 103 and Meinhard, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Śivaismus, 14 ff.

[3] The outward forms, the temples and the iconographic representations concern us less. See for them Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple and Meinhard, op. cit.

significance observations made by prof. M. P. Nilsson in a recent article[1] are of value. The influence and interference of a third factor are felt in many ways as events that cannot be accounted for, as wonders and as accidents and misfortunes and as any peculiar thing which is out of man's ordinary experience and upsets his wellbeing. Man must bring all this into a sequence which fits in with his experience and satisfies his idea of meaning. That is, it must be either useful or intelligible. This is what Nilsson calls "man's protest against the meaninglessness of events" and which he makes an aspect of religion. As Nilsson says, it is a question of meaning in a subjective sense, which will imply an emotional equilibrium. Accidents, diseases, misfortunes, and death are "unreasonable" because they have an adverse effect on man's wellbeing and emotional life as well as on his power of reasoning. Everything that concerns him must have a meaning in the sense of reestablishing his balance of mind. The evil happenings make sense as the result of enemy's action. An example is furnished by the Karanga girl (Rhodesia) who asked her missionary teacher: "If a snake crept in and made straight for you and bit your foot, would you really think it could be due to anything else than the evil act of an enemy?".[2]

A sudden attack of disease will be taken as wrought by an enemy. This gives sense. Otherwise it is uncanny, which is worse than known hatred, because it gives no outlet for the emotional strain in feelings of revenge. It will then entail belief in "super-causation"[3], to which the only relief may be a meaning achieved from an interpretation of the event as serving a purpose of punishment or as a trial or sent for purification.

Extraordinary happenings such as peculiar incidents or natural phenomena of an unusual character worry men, because they don't fit in with his day-to-day experience. He tries to establish connections somehow, and in his fear of the unknown he connects them with bad luck. They become omens.

The senseless happenings assume a meaning through their significance. They literally "make a sign", which stands for some-

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[1] Religion as man's protest against the meaninglessness of events, 25 ff.
[2] Oral information Miss Anna Larsson.
[3] Marett, ERE, vol. 8, 250.

thing. — An analysis will find them to be indicators of the purpose of a third factor. They are instruments.

From one point of view rites may be taken to be the reverse of this attitude. Man is not satisfied with his efforts to bring meaningless events into a sequence which makes them intelligible or acceptable to him. In order to master the situation he becomes active and makes arrangements, which he may know to be of no practical use, but which establish a connection with the factors he has seen at play in the meaningless events. These arrangements have no direct meaning, although they are not senseless in the meaning absurd. It is not an absurd thing at the time of drought to sprinkle water on holy men standing in a tank, but nobody will establish an experimental connection with rainfall. Men are urged by feelings of revolt against the senseless drought to establish a sensible connection and so they pretend that it is raining. Again a reference to a third factor can be inferred, the purpose of which is expected to agree with the desire of man.

Rites in a wider sense will represent man's active response to the meaninglessness of events as efforts to make sense of them. Significance is a fundamental aspect of ritual performances, and it covers the widest possible range from sacrifices in temples to imitative acts performed by Mantiravātis. A rite will always be an intermediary act of contact between man and a third factor.

As an intermediary the rite naturally has two points of contact: with man and with the third factor.

The salient point is not how this factor is conceived, or where it is located, in gods, in rites or in objects, but its very existence and prevalence. When a man discharges his arrow and kills his enemy at 50 yards' distance, it is done by direct method. If he uses an arrow prepared with Mantras and ointment to kill his enemy 50 miles away, it would be called magic according to common terminology, but it is certainly not a direct method. A man may resort to this latter method even when his enemy is within bow's shot. It means that he does not trust his own reaction to be effective against his enemy and takes to a method which adds something to his own natural strength or supersedes it.

The Poison King told me that he would not succeed in any of his performances, if he was not thinking of his Guru at the same time. This points to a power from outside, a third factor. He is dependent

on the favour of his Guru, which must mean an effective influence exercised by the Guru. This is the meaning of the word Kurukaṭākṣam, which is met with occasionally in the Māntirīkam handbooks[1] as a requisite necessary for success. Literally it means to cast a (favourable) side glance.

Man can also acquire and store up power through various means as Tapas, initiation, instruction as well as through the rites themselves.[2] "I do it through my Śakti" is a reply I have had repeatedly. Śakti is not the same as ability. It always has the meaning of additional strength or power over and above man's natural capacity. A carpenter will say in Tamil: "*Eṉṉāl muṭiyum*" for 'I can do it'. Literally it means: "It will be finished through me". The Mantiravāti says: "*Eṉ caktiyiṉālē*=through my Śakti. The carpenter will not express himself in that way, because he has acquired his skill through practice with his own strength, whereas the Mantiravāti has had something added to his natural equipment, which he indicates with the word Śakti. If the carpenter were to qualify his statement, he would say: "*Eṉ palattiṉālē*" using the word Palam for strength.[3]

An instrument is "handled"[4] with an effect that is beyond man's ordinary capacity. The instruments are powerful to a varying degree. An amulet of gold is more powerful than one of copper. Repeating a Mantra 108 times is sufficient in some cases. The effect will be greater, if you read it 1008 times. For "killing" (Māraṇam) it has to be read 20.000 times. — A root (Mūlikai) must

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[1] II, 25 and 37. See also above 328.

[2] Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, 403. Söderblom, The Living God, 52—53.

[3] This is to some extent in agreement with Malinowski's word: It (magic) is thus never conceived as a force of nature, residing in things, acting independently of man, to be found out and learned by him by any of those proceedings by which he gains his ordinary knowledge of nature." — Malinowski's efforts to single out magic as "a force unique of its kind, residing exclusively in man" seem to me less successful. In my opinion the home of this power matters little as long as it is conceived as a third factor. This Malinowski seems to accept when he speaks of the human body as the receptacle of magic and the channel of its flow. (Malinowski, Magic, 57). The natural conclusion is that it is something different from man.

[4] The term sometimes used is Pirayōkam, Skt. Prayoga, which means 'discharge of weapons, use of means and practice of magic' (TL) Cp. above 57, note 1.

be 'de-powered' and held by Kāppu (a string tied around it), i.e. any curse attacked to it must be removed and its power encircled, before it can be used. — A Mantra, if read over sacred ashes gives one result; if read over milk, it gives another. When it is read by men with a special equipment of wisdom and Yoga practice[1], it will have more effect. — There are degrees of power among the "magicians". Hartland uses this as an argument against Frazer and maintains that it introduces a new factor, "the personal potentiality".[2] It is, however, just as important to remember that it speaks for the concept of power as something in addition to man's natural capacity. The examples given above have the same significance.

The most conclusive evidence for a conception of power outside man's own strength is perhaps found in the term Upācaṇam.[3] It means due contact with the sphere of power of a particular god or sometimes, without reference to any lord of the sphere, with the power effective for the purpose. It is not possible to combine this practice with the idea of "inherent supernatural power" in man.

The investigation is confined to popular belief and practice. In a country of highly developed culture like India many of common folk's ideas come, however, from the religious and philosophical systems, and it is difficult or impossible to differentiate a popular conception from the terminus technicus of the philosophy. We meet with this difficulty, when we look at words, which might have a connotation of power in an abstract sense. The word Śakti is commonly used. The rickshawpullers spoke of the Śakti of their idol, which during the floods in October 1943 stood upright in five feet water, when houses and walls collapsed all around at Kilpauk, Madras. "This proves that it has much Śakti", they said. A Mantiravāti speaks of his Śakti. Professor Sunder, the astrologer from Colombo, told me the malignant influence of the planets was due to Śakti.

In the theological systems of Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas the concep-

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[1] V, 45. This is not so much an argument for dependency on human agency (Cp. James, Comparative Religion, 49) as it is an indication of power acquired by man. There is the important instruction to sit in a Yogic posture. Certain conditions must be fulfilled, otherwise the power is not available.

[2] Hartland, Ritual and Belief, 60 ff.

[3] See above 284.

tion of Śakti is well defined. Miss Paranjoti writes[1]: "Śakti is the energy or power of Śiva. It is of the form of cognition, conation and emotion. Though of the same essence as Śiva, it is yet different from him. — The god is the efficient cause and Śakti is the instrumental cause etc".

In one of the latest translation of Meykaṇṭa Tēvar's Civañāṉapōtam — the classical textbook of the Śaiva Siddhānta[2], made by Rev. K. A. Popley and published in the Pilgrim[3], Śakti is translated "energy" and in one place "word". These translations need not give room for misunderstanding in the context, but they can not be used in rendering of Śakti in popular talk. It is not through his energy the magician works wonders. But we might still be guided towards a correct understanding of his Śakti by the theological system. It is the double character of energy and alter ego that forms the conception of Śakti, which the man in the street has taken over from theology. It is an energy closely connected with man's personality but an addition to his own natural capacity. One of the Kōṭaṅkis present at the big festival (Māci Tiruviḻā) at the Mūṉrucāmikōvil, Madura dist., told me he had not yet got Śakti to don the yellow robe of an ascetic. He might achieve it later. Energy is an inherent capacity of man; Śakti is not. — A more philosophical minded person like professor Sunder will speak of Śakti as universal power and accordingly see manifestations of it in the constellation of stars.[4]

In the Vaiṣṇava system also the idea of Śakti is prominent. "The Kriyā Śakti is the Sudarśana portion of Lakṣmī: for it is

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[1] Paranjoti, Śaiva Siddhānta, 89., Schomerus, Der Caiva Siddhānta, 63 ff., Sudhenu Kumar Das, Śakti or Divine Power, etc.

[2] Farquhar, Outline, 257.

[3] Vol. VII, No 2, July 1947.

[4] An instructive example of how an Indian mind is reasoning in terms of power can be had from Jagadisa Ayyar, South Indian Festivities, Introduction, 5—6: "... special intelligencies recognized as Adhikarika Purushas ... magnetize special centres ... forces are liberated and poured on particular occasions on this earth. To bestow the maximum benefit on humanity by the quantity of force liberated, it is essential that a large number of people assemble at a particular place on a particular occasion favourable for the purpose. This aim is achieved by magnetizing certain centres to draw people there in large numbers to benefit them. Hence have arisen famous religious localities, temples, rivers and hills."

identical with Viṣṇu's "Will-to-be" symbolised by the Sudarśana or discus."[1] Sudarśana and Kriyā Śakti are considered as the causa instrumentalis of the world. Sudarśana is explained as "*Syām iti saṃkalpaḥ*", i.e. the resolution: "May I be" or the creative power of Viṣṇu. It takes a place similar to that of Śakti in the Śaiva Siddhānta. — Sudarśana is the name of the Cakra, the discus. It is not without significance that Cakkaram (Skt Cakra) is the term used for all diagrams in magic performances. It might have a connection with the Sudarśana conception. This would explain why the word Cakkaram is more used than Yantra, which is the word adopted in the Pāñcarātra for magical diagrams along with Rakṣā.[2] Here the word Cakra is reserved for Sudarśana in its creative function: "The wheel of Creation, the wheel of Withdrawal and the wheel of Continuance, while each of these again operates as a whole as well as through a number of minor wheels corresponding to the several Tattvas."[3] "In addition to the forms described, the Sudarśana manifests itself also in the forms of Mantras, that is sounds (and their graphic symbols) and the holy utterances composed of these."[4]

The Cakkaram, which signifies the very powerful instrument of Viṣṇu as well as the mystic diagram has in Māntirīkam preserved something of its creative power. In all the handbooks it is the chief instrument. Both Śakti and Sudarśana must have influenced popular beliefs, and some idea of cosmic power can be assumed to be in the background of even an ordinary Mantiravāti's philosophy. So much more so as he finds strong support in the religious systems for his practice. O. Schrader gives the contents of the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā. Out of its 60 chapters Nos 21—27 deal with "magical" diagrams, 34, 35 contain spells, 36 teaches how the Sudarśana Yantra is to be worshipped, 38, 39 deal with origin and cure of diseases, 42 speaks of hostile "magic", 42, 43 deal with the power of the Sudarśana Mantra, which is the root of all Mantras. The 47:th chapter describes another means to avert evil. In 48—50 we hear about talismans, 51—59 explain Vaiṣṇavite Mantras. Thus practically half of it deals with "magic", which leads to the conclu-

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[1] Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātrā, 30.
[2] Op. cit. 122.
[3] Op. cit. 105.
[4] Op. cit. 118.

sion that just as rites of Māntirīkam have a place in theology, the thoughts of the system on power penetrate into Māntirīkam.

It is important to note that Śakti as well as Sudarśana are personified and have iconographically fixed representations. This is, however, a new line of development. As gods they become the object of worship and also connected with the Mantras through Upācaṉams just as other gods.

The question is still, whether the conception of power ever comes away from the instrument. We have touched upon the theological systems,[1] where abstract ideas can be maintained. When religious reaction sets in, the ideas get flesh and blood (i.e. become idols and objects of worship). People with an unphilosophical mind will not, as a rule, have an idea of power in abstract sense. They will either have gods or speak of powerful instruments only; "an occult power, impersonal or only vaguely personal, mystically dangerous",[2] is to the majority of people a sensation more than a belief.

These remarks on the third factor concern mostly Māntirīkam. There can be less doubt about the third factor in temple rites, but here a problem presents itself in the various conceptions of this third factor. Many want to make a distinction between religion and magic from the point of view of belief in personal beings and occult power respectively.[2, 3] .

As was pointed out in the introduction this distinction lays the emphasis outside the rites and need not have any bearing on their shape or performance. Man may not realize to himself what conceptions of the third factor he is having.

This difference in belief is an inference from the attitude and behaviour of man and only in theory demonstrable as founded on conceptions. We infer the belief in an occult power, because a man acts as if such a power existed.

The ground for such a belief is man's action, which is the ex-

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[1] No attempt is made here even to indicate the place of Śakti in Indian thinking on the whole.

[2] Webster, Magic, 55.

[3] Instruments can be superior to gods. Junod, The life of a South African tribe, 2:nd ed. 1927, II, 570: "The bones are, in a certain sense, superior to the gods, whose intentions they disclose." Referring to this Lowie writes: In other words, the Bula (the word of revelation, obtained through the bones) is sacred and supernatural and is so not in a derivative fashion but in its own right." Lowie, Primitive Religion, 143.

pression of an attitude of his. The acts and behaviour from which we infer a belief in a vaguely conceived power, are rooted in his desire to have the results he needs. Consciously man has no other belief than the contents of his people's faith, and only if ideas of power can be traced in such conceptions, are we justified in speaking of belief.

Nevertheless the distinction is important. When a man has faith in living gods he must guard against a behaviour which dethrones his god, and that is what he is doing when he has recourse to (powerful) instruments. The shifting of emphasis would in Christian terminology imply a breaking of the first commandment.

This 'sin' is overcome by a reasoning that the instruments have their effect through a power deputed from the gods. Without doubt this is the common conception in India.

b. RITES AND PURPOSE

The purpose of the rites is of an endless variety, depending on man's desire. Its manifold manifestations can be classified and grouped under many headings, which again will open up avenues of investigation in different directions such as the welfare of society, individual aims, earthly gains, aversion of evil etc. Ours is the formal question whether a rite is always having a purpose and if so, whether there are essential differences in purpose or not.

a. As regards purpose and no purpose this can be said: If the emphasis is laid on man, i.e. the performer of rites, examples will be found when it can be assumed that there is no definite purpose in view. A man may perform the rite to his satisfaction. His mind is relieved, lifted up, enriched or appeased through the performance of the rites. In such cases the purpose is not prominent. — Still one may qualify the observance of rites as routine and derive a purpose, positive or negative, but thereby the field is open for emotional experiences with the performer which are beyond observation. — One can justly assume that this happens more often in the rites of the temples and homes than in Māntirīkam, but it cannot be said to be wholly absent from the latter. The word religion, if reserved for this emphasis, will cover a reaction in man but not its corollaries, because these corollaries, the rites, may be used by the same man or by others on other occasions with a definite end in view.

A purpose is, then, conceivable as an aspect on all rites but it may be more or less prominent and even occasionally absent. This means that a rite cannot be qualified as religious or magic in itself from the point of view of purpose.[1] — Māntirīkam furnishes typical example of rites where the purpose is kept in view as a definite objective, but it is neither absent from nor incongruous to other rituals. The individual worship (Arccaṉai) in the temple is on a par with Māntirīkam in this respect.

b. As regards differences in purpose there is no essential difference between temple rites and Māntirīkam. We have found concrete, material objectives attached to the former and salvation (Mokṣa) to the latter. But surely the temple has a different place in the minds of the people, and it is to its shrines and corridors they resort for contact with the divine atmosphere and "spiritual" experience. This does not, however, necessarily involve any rite and thus falls outside the frame of this investigation.

C. THE POLAR-IDEAL TYPE TEST; INSTRUMENT AND PURPOSE

In order to reach a final opinion on the matter of terminology the types supplied by Goode[2] will now be discussed one by one with reference to the material presented.

1. "*Concrete specificity of goal* relates most closely to the magical complex, whereas religious goals lean more heavily in the direction of "general welfare", "health", "good weather" and eschatological occurrences."

When the rituals are put to this test, obviously all prescriptions for rites to be performed at times of crisis come on the magical side. Those rites have a specific goal in view. The rites for individual worship in the temples, Arccaṉai, belong here, and the pilgrimages, and the votive offerings just as well as all rites of Māntirīkam. The divinatory acts also have a specific purpose.

Rites in the regular course of life also have goals in view, but they are not in the forefront. The emphasis is on the necessity of performing the rites in response to the demands of good manners

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[1] This can be said to be implicitly admitted by Hubert and Mauss, who after having given their definition of magic as "tout rite qui ne fait pas partie d'un culte organisé" continue saying: "On voit que nous ne définissons pas la magie par la forme." (Hubert-Mauss, Magie, 19).

[2] Goode, Magic and Religion, 172 ff.

and appropriate behaviour individually as well as publicly. A great deal of the component elements of the rites, however, have the emphasis on a specific goal as e.g. the Nyāsa, the Mantra and the Mudrā. These parts have a particular significance often indicated in their names as for example Sthāpana Mudrā=the Mudrā for establishing (the deity) or causing (him) to stay, or the Udbhava Mudrā=the Mudrā causing (the deity) to appear. The many Mudrās with names like Linga, Pañcamukha, Padma, Yoni etc. also have a very specific place according to the object and location of the worship. Similarily the Mantras are fixed in accordance with their effects. The Kavaca Mantra is for protection, and other Mantras are attached to the various gods.

Public rites in temples also, sometimes, have specific goals as for example the prayer for rain to Varuṇa.[1]

Eschatological occurrences are not prominent in a religion like Hinduism which counts more on cyclic recurrences, but the cases of individual performances of Māntirīkam rites aiming at Mokṣa are worth noticing.

This test does not leave much of the rites for religion, and the border line, if it can be drawn clearly at all, goes anyhow inside the religious institutions.

2. "*The manipulative attitude* is to be found most strongly at the magical pole, as against the supplicative, propitiatory, or cajoling, at the religious pole."

Rites are naturally all manipulative or expressions of a "manipulative attitude" to follow Goode's, in this case, rather incoherent terminology. The word 'manipulative' carries the meaning of fixed or preconceived actions rather to the exclusion of spontaneous gestures, which seems to be correct. The threatening fist is more an emotional outburst than instrumental in character.

It is hardly necessary to produce examples of manipulations in the rituals. The temple cult consists of an elaborate system of handposes, gestures and acts of waiting upon the gods which surely belong to this type. If magic is thus defined, it comprises all cult in S. India.

A manipulation, on the other hand, can be, and often is, made in a supplicative or cajoling mode or manner. Such an attitude is not

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[1] Also regular worship may serve a specific purpose. See above 141, 144.

rare in Māntirīkam rites but, of course, more common in the temples. Manipulation and supplication to a great extent cover the same ground. This might be due to a defect in logic. From strictly logical point of view manipulation and attitude are incommensurable. Manipulation and supplication are both expressions of an attitude. The opposite to manipulation is inactivity. Inactivity in the sense of waiting for divine help or acquiescence is found with people worshipping in temples but never in Māntirīkam rites. Māntirīkam is perforce manipulative, although it comes under other aspects as well.

We leave out the third type for the present, because along with Nos 5 and 7 it refers to the performer and not to the rite itself. They will be taken up later.[1]

Thus skipping the third type we find as

4. "*Individual ends* are more frequently to be found toward the magical end .... as against groupal ends toward the other".

As far as the rites of South India are concerned this distinction carries us very little forward. Any temple visitor may have an individual end in view and also all such rites as come under the term Ātmārttam, for one's own benefit.[2]

Already we find the lines running criss-cross. A sacrifice of 100 millions of Arccaṉai to the goddess Kāmākṣi for peace and plenty to the country will, according to this criterion, come near the religious pole. It has a 'groupal' end in view. It has the same place also according to No 1 as it refers to "general welfare", and also according to No 10 since it is for the good of the society. But nothing can be more manipulative in character than chanting Mantras and throwing flowers repeatedly millions of times, and thus according to no. 2 it is magic.

Skipping number five we find Goode defining as number

6. "a *substitution or introduction of other techniques*" "in case of magical failure", but "since much of religious activity is less specifically instrumental, is concerned more with the intrinsic meaning of the ritual, and is expected to achieve concrete goals indirectly, by maintaining the proper continuing relationship with the gods, such a substitution is far rarer in the area of the religious pole".

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[1] See below 355 ff.

[2] See above 56.

This is but a consequence of the use of the rituals for specific goals and individual ends in particular. As long as the purpose is the dominant factor, technique after technique may be tried till the goal is reached. Under the stress of emotion people will refuse to accept a final verdict. If the case of the patient has been declared incurable in the hospital, he tries the Mantiravāti.[1] When he also fails to get help from him, he goes to the temple. The local temple has not the same reputation for efficacy as a place of pilgrimage, and thither he goes. The individual will thus resort to various means and from his point of view, and as far as his specific goal is concerned, the temple rites are as much technique as the performance of the Mantiravāti.

It is true that the professionals of the temples will not change the ritual to suit the needs of individuals, but we have seen the graded scale of the Arccaṉai, which means that as remedy for a lesser evil the worshipper may have an Aṣṭōttiram[2] read but to meet an emergency of a more serious character, a Cahasra Nāmam.[2] If he is much worried in mind, he may arrange a Pañcamūrtti Utsavam or a silver car procession[3], and if one of the former was not yielding the desired result, he may thus 'substitute one technique for another'.[4]

Even if the temple rites are not substituted for more effective rites they are technichal in the sense that they must be carried out accurately. Many details of the rituals are meant to prevent disturbances as e.g. the Tikkupantaṉam. If a detail goes wrong, the whole ritual will have to be followed all over again. There are also provisions for propitiatory ceremonies which aim at counteracting the evil effect and make up for defects.[5] Once a Brāhman lawyer

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[1] Things are often allowed to take the opposite course, and only when the case looks definitely hopeless the patient is handed over to the hospital.

[2] Above 235—36.

[3] Above 242.

[4] Goode, Magic and Religion, 177. — This is by no means unknown in other connections. A big note in the collection box has a soothing effect on the conscience.

[5] Akorasivacariya, Kriyākrama Jyoti, seventh part, Prāyaścitta Vidhi, contains 125 items taken from the Aṃśumad Āgama. All sorts of defects in service are provided for, e.g. failing to worship the doorkeepers, failing to supply Mantras, flowers, garments, jewels etc. — Similar ceremonies are provided for defects in the performance of the Saṃskāras. See e.g. Vaikhānasasmārta Sūtra, VI, 15.

met the cost of a procession of Vīrarākavar at Tiruvallur, Chingleput dist. The whole proceedings were held up, because a dead body was found in the temple tank. Only after purificatory rites had been performed, could the festival go on.

When in spite of the ordinary routine of daily temple service and festivals, the country is threatened with famine or epidemics or war, even the big temples will institute more effective rites as e.g. the prayers for rain.[1]

The Mantiravāti will not discard his technique because of an individual failure, but he will readily resort to another method or improve the quality of the performance by reading the Mantra 1008 times instead of 108, by exchanging copper for gold etc.

This instrumental aspect of the rites is due to the many needs and wants with the public. They will be more in the forefront with individuals, and accordingly more substitution will take place in rituals chiefly catering for their needs, but the need of improving the 'technique' is also discernible in the temples and at public rites on the whole.

The homerites are less subject to changes, except that if they are neglected or carelessly observed in the usual course of life, they will be scrupulously attended to at times of crisis.

As long as a purpose is in view the rites are susceptible to exchange or intensification. Temple rites and home rites have less specific goals in view, and their efficacy is therefore less open to observance or criticism. This is, however, not a valid reason to distinguish them as 'religious' from other rites, because the very same rites are on some occasions and in other connotations open to substitution.

Again we leave number seven in order to concentrate on those tests that come under the aspect of instrument and purpose.

8. "The *practitioner decides whether* the process is to start at all, toward the magical pole. Toward the religious, the ritual must be carried out. That it must be done is part of the structure of the universe."

This holds good as a distinction between regular worship and rites performed at times of crisis. The daily worship in the temples, Nittiya Pūcai, goes on day by day, and the daily rites at home must

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[1] Above 263.

be gone through regardless of man's initiative. They are, as Goode puts it, "part of the structure of the universe".[1]

But the distinction does not carry us very far, because it goes without saying that a rite performed to meet an individual demand must start on somebody's initiative. This test actually falls in line with Nos 1 and 4 and has reference to purpose. The permanent rites have a continued goal in view. The 'universe' must be kept going. There is room for an initiative only if it gets stuck, when the machinery will have to be set in motion again.

It is legitimate to say that some rites are perfunctorily carried out continuously, but there is no reason why they as such and on that ground should be called religious in contrast to other rites classified as magic.

No 9 is similar to No 8.

9. "The *practitioner decides when* the process is to start in the case of magic ... Toward the religious end, ... the time relationships of rituals are fairly fixed."

This distinction is again somewhat besides the point. Regular rites must perforce be repeated at fixed times and cannot change day by day. A single act performed with a set purpose must open, when the hour has come. The point is that neither regular rites nor individual performances take place at a time chosen at random. In the temple ritual the time 3¾ Nāḻikai (=90 minutes) before sunrise is the correct time to begin, and the Uṣakāla Pūcai is most excellent when it is finished just at sunrise[2] etc. The festival cycle is fixed year by year in accordance with the astrological calculations for the year.

Similarily any act of Māntirīkam will have to be performed at an auspicious time. The regular worship must necessarily follow the sun and the moon[3], while the occasional rites pay attention to the planets and the 'stars' (lunar mansions).

No 10 concerns anti-social practice.

10. "Magic is thought of as at least *potentially directed against the society.* Religious rituals are not thought of as even potentially directed against the society."

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[1] Goode, op. cit. 178.

[2] Above 110.

[3] Underhill, The Hindu religious year, 38—70.

This distinction based on the theories of Durkheim and his followers is clear and perhaps the most fruitful of all Goode's tests. Temple rites are for the good of society. Rites performed on behalf of or by an individual can be anti-social in character. But they seldom are. Instead of saying "at least potentially" the emphasis should lie on that very word. Because if only rites performed with an evil intention are classified as magic the majority of the rites come out as religious. If the actual use decides the issue, then one might say against Malinowski's examples of magic performances, which are for the general welfare of society, that the terminology is wrong. The rites of fertilizing the gardens and the fields and assuring a good catch of fish, safe sailing etc. should be called religious, because they are not anti-social.[1] This is evidently a petitio principii. To public magic the words "white" and "black" do not apply, says Webster.[2]

But as *potentially* directed against the society a much wider range of rites come under magic, although thereby nothing is said about the rites as such.

Potentiality implies, however, that the rituals are eo ipso at the disposal of some or somebody, who can use them at their discretion. The established rites of the temples are in the hands of society and obviously society will not turn them as weapons against itself. But it is quite possible for society to use the rites against another society. Potentially evil is everything which is in the hands of man. In case an individual has control over the rite he can use it according to his own desire. Many Māntirīkam rites can be used for an evil purpose. These rites have, however, a similar composition to any other kind of rites, and the performer must bathe and be pure (Cuttam) as in the case of temple service. Even the gods are imprecated to effect the revenge[3]. The rites are ambivalent. They can be used for a good as well as for an evil purpose. But there are other limits.

Even granted that all rites can potentially be directed against man as an individual or against society or an hostile country, there remains the question whether the established rites of society ever can

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[1] Malinowski, Magic, 11—14.
[2] Webster, Magic, 1947, p. 306.
[3] Above 145, note 1.

come entirely in the hands of society. The first limiting factor is the priesthood. The priests occupy the key-position, and it is not certain that their views on the purpose for which the rites are to be performed agree with the views of a society, perhaps changing its mind according to different political situations. Even a Mantiravāti may refuse to comply with his client's desire to have an evil end obtained through the rites.

But the final bar to evil trafficking in rites is formed by the gods. Not even in Māntirīkam are they as subservient and accomodating as they sometimes appear to be from the rituals. The danger of the god or the demon turning against the performer is always present. In the wider connection the gods guarantee a certain permanency of conceptions and behaviour. They do not yield to the wavering mind of the people. Gods survive the generations and with them an ethos, which keeps the acts of the society and of individuals in a certain direction, from which they cannot stray without serious consequences, however much they would like to do so, urged by surgent emotions.

Summing up one may say that among rites performed in South India some are directed against reputed members of the society. There are people who use the rituals for antisocial ends. But thereby nothing is said about the rites as such, because similar rites are used for a good purpose.

Potentially all rites can be used against man, but the limitations on such use in practice are stronger, the less the rites are in the hands of individuals and the more influential the gods are.

While it is not possible to accede to this criterion either any finality, it certainly brings us to the core of the problem in touching upon attitude and ethics. We shall return to these points in our closing remarks.

As No 11 Goode presents this criterion:

11. "As a final, ideally distinguishing characteristic, magic is *used only instrumentally, i.e. for goals.* The religious complex at its ideal pole, may be used for goals, but beyond that the practices are ends in themselves."

We might not be far from a workable distinction if we say that the public cult always preserves at least a minimum of a quality as being an end in itself, whereas the Māntirīkam is always and entirely a means to an end. In other words, home- and temple rites are compulsory, purpose or no purpose, motive or no motive.

Māntirīkam is not compulsory and will not be performed except for specified goals.

It must be noticed, however, that also the temple daily rites have a purpose. Only it is not apparent to the individuals or even to the present generation and therefore the rites appear to be self-contained. Further, one cannot exclude the possibility that in choosing to "traffic in the miraculous", i.e. become a Mantiravāti, man may be prompted by a desire to live in contact with the supernatural and that his desire is of a character, which makes the rites to him ends in themselves. In as much as he chooses his profession of free will, he is more likely to be of a "religious disposition" than a temple priest, who holds his office by hereditary right.

d. POLAR-IDEAL TYPE TEST; THE PERFORMERS

Submitting the material to the tests supplied by Goode we do not find a clear consistency in the distinction between magic and religion as far as instrument and purpose are concerned. The same elements lean now towards this, now towards that pole. The distinction is in most cases a natural consequence upon the performance of rites by individuals. Real differences lie outside the rites in the performers and in their locality.

To begin with the latter, Māntirīkam is never performed in the temples, nor is its worship directed to public idols. The material may not prove this to be a rule without exceptions, but this is certainly the tendency. The gods are in Māntirīkam quite legitimately[1] represented by a Yantra, a Piḷḷaiyār (Kaṇēcaṉ), a water-pot, a picture or a figure, but they are always kept in private. Not a single Māntirīkam ritual has the instruction that one must go to such and such a shrine and invoke the god of the shrine to be present. The Mantiravāti keeps off the ground of public worship, but this does not mean that his actions are considered to be anti-social in character. Nor is he himself considered to be an irreligious man. Still the line is drawn. This ought to form a point of departure. The practice of the Mantiravāti is separated in loco from the public cult. But one must bear in mind that practically any temple or shrine may become the location of a rite which for all practical purposes is equal to Māntirīkam.

[1] I.e. in accordance with Āgamic rules.

There is room for more observations regarding the performers of the rites with reference to Goode's points 3, 5 and 7.

3. "The *professional-client relationship* is ideally-theoretically to be found in the magical complex. The shepherd-flock or prophet-follower is more likely in the religious."

The professional-client relationship is naturally more common in Māntirīkam where the interests of the individual always are in the forefront. This aspect is further developped by Goode under No 5. But this relationship is not unknown in the temples. It is likely to develop wherever the individual turns for help.[1]

It is also noteworthy that certain temples, sacred waters and other places of pilgrimage are attracting the crowds to a large extent for the same reasons as a famous Mantiravāti can do. In December 1950 large crowds of people were rushing to a small place, called Rantalai near Cuttack to obtain a "wonder drug" from a shepherd boy. Unfortunately cholera broke out, and not less than 500 people died in 3 days. The distribution of the drug was prohibited, but the Government had to suspend railway traffic to the place to prevent people from going there. Even so 2000 people crowded the railway station at Cuttack for tickets.[2] They are rightly considered as clients to the divine power, which they thought had manifested itself in the boy. The accumulation of huge crowds at e.g. the Makāmakam festival at Kumbakonam is an analogous phenomenon. The people attending the festival may have come for various reasons, but one at least, is sure to be akin to the reason why a health resort is frequented by patients.

The implication of having an Iṣṭa-devatā (a god of one's own desire or choice) is not far from that of a professional-client relationship. He is approached at all times of emergency as a reliable source of help.

The counterpart, the shepherd-flock or prophet-follower relationship is foreign to the art of Māntirīkam, except for the role played by the Guru as instructor and success giver. Again, however, the individual aims held in view in Māntirīkam leave little room for flocks and followers. But more remarkable still; they are not found in the temples either. The worship in the temples is not

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[1] Cp. above 248, note 2 the statement about the Tiruvitamarutur temple. On the 16:th September 1950 it had 20 "patients".

[2] The Mail (Madras) 18/12 1950.

congregational, but out and out individual as far as partaking in the cult is concerned. The public takes part in the Pūcai one by one and not jointly. A family or a group may arrange for Pūcai and are then treated as individual units, but the public as such is never invited to take part in rites[1], and no rite requires the attendance of the public for its due performance. The daily rites of the temple are performed without any reference to the presence or absence of worshippers. In most cases nobody is present except the temple priests and servants. — The public are the clients of the temple. People come to make use of its facilities for individual worship.[2]

The shepherd-flock or prophet-follower relationship is with the Guru, the spiritual teacher who sits in the arcades and halls chanting the Rāmāyaṇa or the Vedānta Sūtras and explaining the religious tenets to an auditorium. He does not belong to the temple staff and never performs any rites in the temple. — The application of this test to the rites is in fact not relevant, or if applied, it runs counter to the definition proposed by Hubert-Mauss: Magic is any rite which does not form part of an organized cult.[3]

5. "The magical practitioner or his customer *goes through his activities as a private individual*, or individuals ... At the religious extreme pole, groups carry them out or representatives of groups."

The individual character of the temple worship was just pointed out. People come to the temple for private worship. It may be an individual or a family or even a larger group. The worship is their business. The temple officials are at their disposal to carry out the technicalities of the worship for suitable fees. Even when a car festival is arranged on the initiative and at the expense of a private person, it is for his good. When submitted to this test all individual worship in temples and at shrines as well as at home becomes magic.

The daily regular worship in the temples, Nittiya Pūcai, is performed without the public, but on behalf of the larger group, society, by its representatives and would thus be styled religion. How impossible it is to separate the one from the other is clear from the example of a car procession. This is part of the regular temple programme and in theory completed without a congregation.

[1] "... Hinduism enjoins no assembling together for congregational worship", Monier Williams, Brāhmanism, 394.

[2] Cp. above 235.

[3] Hubert-Mauss, Magie, 19.

Sometimes it actually happens that the procession rather rapidly goes its round perfunctorily with little or no attention from the public, but as a rule large crowds will line the roads and raise their hands in salutation. — In any case this is groupal worship, not because of the crowds, but because it is carried out by the priests as representatives of society. Now the very same festival can be arranged on behalf of an individual and would thus come at the magic pole. Real group worship is found in the Poṅkal ceremony. The village or local members of a caste assemble at the place of cult, and each family will be cooking food, which is first offered to the gods and then eaten by all present. This will, however, not take place in temples following Śaiva- or Vaiṣṇava permanent rituals.

A distinction on this ground will reserve religion for certain performances of the rites under special conditions. As far as the temple worship is concerned the two kinds of worship thus distinguished roughly follow the division between Nittiya Pūcai and Arccaṉai.[1] Home rites and Māntirīkam cannot claim group character and accordingly lean on the magical pole.

7. "*A lesser degree of emotion* is expected at the magical end. This may be described as impersonality. At the religious end, one expects a greater degree of emotion, possibly awe or worship."

Here a distinction must be made between the performers and the "clients". As regards the performers the distinction is not applicable on South Indian material. It should not be misunderstood as an uncalled for subjective judgement when I say that the Paṭṭars of the temples in South India carry out their functions as a routine with as little, or even less, personal engagement as the Mantiravāti. The latter is in my observation considerably more engaged, because he feels responsible for the success or failure of the rite, and in that anxiety he will have to count with the third factor quite realistically. The temple priest is part of an establishment, for which he has no individual responsibility.

The reference to emotions is however dubious. What is probably meant is a general attitude towards the supernatural factor and its representations. From the point of view of experimental psychology it may also have a reference to emotional intensity. A registration of nil value in emotional engagement on the actual occasion

[1] Above 235.

does not exclude the existence of a general sense of respect and awe. The remark made on the Paṭṭar and Mantiravāti refers in the first place to the emotional strain of the moment. This does not mean a violent outburst of feelings. Evans-Pritchard's words: "I have not often observed that a magician, uttering a spell, displays great emotion"[1] could be quoted concerning South India also. But a sense of responsibility for the success makes a Mantiravāti more personally engaged than the priest.

As far as the clients are concerned the distinction is tenable only in so far as the feelings can be analyzed as different in kind. The client of a Mantiravāti will be full of expectancy but also of awe from the sensation of encountering unknown possibilities beyond his own reach. With this in view he will come to the Mantiravāti with a specific end in view. He may also go to the temple in the same mood and with the same purpose. But in the temples there will also be people worshipping, whose emotional background is not qualified by intentions. They are there for edification simply. They will be found particularly in the crowd passing through the temple in the early morning and in the evening at sunset. They show signs of reverence, raise their hands in salutation in front of the gods or prostrate themselves on the ground. There is no opportunity to do this at the Mantiravāti's consultation room, because the clients are not admitted into his private room of worship. In as much as feelings can be defined by their expressions only, one may conclude that more of awe and reverential feelings fill the mind of a man in the temple, especially when he has no purpose in view, but there is no evidence to prove that he is without such feelings when he comes to the Mantiravāti.

The client may perform the rite himself, which, however, hardly changes his emotional state. He may experience more of a dangerous venture, perhaps even slightly on the side of the nefarious.

e. THE EMOTIONAL BACKGROUND

Contrary to Goode's distinction there is a definite tendency to combine magic with emotional intensity.[2] The origin of magic

[1] Evans-Pritchard. Azande, 458.

[2] "Such violent feelings as will necessarily find expression in a spontaneous reaction". Widengren, Religionens värld, 15 (Translated by me.).

should be sought in the rage of love and hatred.[1] — This is a point often stressed in opposition to Frazer.[2]

The strength of emotion is of little use as a criterion on magic, because a man may just as well give vent to his feelings by throwing himself at the feet of a god in a temple or a shrine. The choice of method matters little as long as something is being done. Rites are expressions of man's innate need to meet an emergency by doing something about it. They are often resorted to, because man refuses — under the strain of emotion — to accept the impossible. When other efforts prove futile, man turns to the rites as ways to supernatural possibilities. His feelings demand an action when much is at stake. He will certainly pour out his heart in a genuine prayer for help when he prostrates himself in front of the idol, but he does not stop at that. He pays visits to the temple repeatedly, he brings offerings and performs all the prescribed rites and he makes vows. The young wife desiring a child brings a cradle etc. Further, he will consult an astrologer, he is directed to other actions, he goes on pilgrimage and does many other things, whereby he has some peace of mind — and hope of succour. In all these cases the emotional state of mind may be of the same kind and intensity and the choice of action arbitrary. As a determining factor between magic and religion, emotional strength is of no value.

All rites are on the whole equally good as forms of expressions of emotions. When it is said to be characteristic of magic that its actions are governed by emotions[3], this may be as true of other rites. Building on Marett, Delacroix, Bergson, and Dhorme, G. Widengren sees in magic the expression of a strong desire.[4] In its original form magic is a spontaneous action sometimes combined with ecstatic outbursts. As example he takes the imaginary killing of an enemy, where the very act of violence in piercing something, vaguely

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[1] Marett, The threshold of Religion, 44 ff. Delacroix, La religion et la foi, 32. Widengren, Religionens värld, 13. Malinowski, Magic, 67.

[2] It seems unnecessary to refer to the vast literature on this theme. Marett, Hartland, Vierkandt, Lowie, Malinowski and others have stressed the part played by emotion. Eskeröd has a brief survey of the discussion. (Årets äring, 36 ff. and English survey, 354.)

[3] Widengren, Religionens värld, 15.

[4] Of fundamental importance for these views is Marett's essay "From spell to prayer".

representing the enemy, is the main act. Finally a magic tradition is fixed as a guarantee of the magic effect in general.[1]

We shall see how far this holds good as far as South India is concerned.

First of all the one example chosen, the act of killing of which there are typical examples in South India, the rites of Māraṇam, is of very rare occurrence. Many other achievements expected as the result of rites and technique build on less violent emotional foundations. All the rites for securing success, or obtaining wealth, or seeking protection from threatening evil through the planets etc. give very little room for spontaneous reaction and thus provide but a scanty material of "means born by desire".[2] Thereby they evade this way of explaining their origin. Once it has been admitted that there are fixed traditions in magic, the argument is still more weakened. Codified magic is nothing but fixed rites and in that respect not different from temple rites, with which they agree largely, also in details.

But even the example of killing leaves a gap. It has not been explained how repeated acts of rage came to be a killing device. Malinowski says: "... the passion of violence has to be enacted."[3] In the material from South India there is very little of an imitative attack, an element which one would have expected to be codified as an essential part in the handbooks. The Māraṇam is a ceremony performed calmly with shrewd calculation. In the accompanying Mantras, however, the demons and gods are sometimes exhorted to violent attacks.[4]

The emotional strain is prompting action and therefore belongs to the background of Māraṇam (killing), but the intentional calculation to cause injury is in no lesser degree an inherent characteristic of it. The feelings will urge to action, but they will not necessarily select the action. It is shrewd calculation that builds up the

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[1] Widengren, op. cit. 13—14. Cp. also Vierkandt, Globus 92, referred to by Ankermann in Chantepie, I, p. 150, where the threatening first is taken as embryonic magic. — Beth, Religion und Magie, 158: "Der Wunsch als Ansatzpunkt der Magie", leading up to "das symbiotische Empfinden als die psychologische Grundlage", 190.

[2] Widengren, op. cit. 13.

[3] Malinowski, Magic, 67.

[4] I, 39 and passim.

ritual system of Māntirīkam, and because the instrument was chosen under a different note, there is often little agreement between the "instrument" and the "end". When the ritual was fixed, the expert knew more powerful means than an imitative attack.

The form which the Māntirīkam system has taken compels us somewhat to reduce the role of emotional strain[1] and look for other elements that might explain its nature. A fit of rage would not in itself be taken as dangerous to the enemy, either by the person in rage or by the enemy, or by anybody else witnessing the scene. The man may kick and stamp and threat and throw stones as much as he likes. As long as the enemy is at a safe distance, he will probably only enjoy himself at the thought of it. Man does not trust his own power too much, nor is he afraid of man's power when out of catching distance. — What is it that comes in and changes the whole picture, so that the enemy begins to tremble from fear? The answer will be found along two lines of reflection on the part of the enemy. The man is not only in rage. He is "doing something". He has got an "instrument" at his disposal. — Or he is not doing the imitative act of his own accord. Somebody or something is in him. When a rage is taken to be a sort of possession, it inspires fear.[2] — In both cases it is the question of an additional element.

Once the additional element is taken into account and magic is considered as the means of its control, we can understand why there is so little of spontaneity in magic[3]. Man does not have to rely on his own power. He need not work himself up to stages of fury. He can choose a moment, when he is undisturbed, and calmly plan his revenge.

An emotional background of desire and urge to do something may be behind the individual's performance of any rite. A strong

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[1] Note that poisoning as an act of revenge gives very little outlet for violent feelings.

[2] This fear may have only vague references to conceptions of a demon or some power, corresponding to what is said about the Daimon in Greece (Nilsson, Götter und Psychologie bei Homer, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, vol. 22, 363). — It is the active performer who makes the specific reference to this god or that god.

[3] "It is a highly specialized system", James, Comparative religion, 49. — "... an entirely sober, prosaic even clumsy act, enacted for purely practical reasons", Malinowski, Magic, 65.

upsurge of feelings does not constitute a part of the ritual, much less does it create a rite with its spontaneous reactions.

There remains the question of differentiating the feelings. Love or hatred will decide the purpose sometimes. From the result or from the expressed intention some general conclusions may be drawn regarding the emotional background. This is of no consequence, however, because the purpose alone will form a criterion and that was already used by Goode.

f. THE ATTITUDE

To what extent feelings can be analysed as submissive, humble, grateful, pious on the one side and demanding, self-asserting, and overbearing on the other side seems to be a question open to arbitrary judgement only. Nevertheless such distinction is behind the long-established opinion that magic and religion originate in two different attitudes of mind: namely a submissive, humble mind and an overbearing, self-reliant type.[1] Making use of this distinction Söderblom says "the essence of magic is an audacious self-glorification"[2] and pictures the magician as an overbearing superman of extraordinary powers, who bows to nothing. Seemingly such an attitude is indicated in some words of the Poison King: "We must force the gods."

In practice, however, there is much room for modification. The Mantiravātis invariably have their rooms of worship (Pūcai), where they meditate and worship. Even if the worship is part of the technique of control, it is done with due reverence. Otherwise the performance would end in failure, because the Mantiravāti is always calling in another power which is different from his own, and this is, if not sacred, at least awe-inspiring. This element can never be reduced to nil, however small it sometimes appears to be. Moreover the Mantiravāti cannot supersede the rules of Māntirīkam. He has to subordinate himself to them much in the same way as people do to God. From the point of view of the attitude of man the difference is dubious. Over against his fellow men, on the other

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[1] Implicit in Frazer's account of the Brāhmans (Golden Bough, I, 226.) and more cautiously so in Oldenberg, Veda, 312. Clearly expressed by Söderblom, The Living God, 32 and 36.

[2] Söderblom, The Living God, 32 and 36.

hand, a Mantiravāti may exercise his power, but then he is in partnership with any man who is believed to be in possession of supernatural power through ascetism or initiation. The guard on a train will not demand ticket from a Yogi with matted hair and peculiar attire, and it is not merely out of respect for him. Similarly the Poison King travelled first class from Karaikudi in 1943, almost certainly without a ticket.

We have stressed the fact that Māntirīkam rites are of the same character as temple rites and contain much the same elements. The elements are to a large extent perfectly legitimate and respectable. Even if animal sacrifices and some ingredients (meat and liquor) of the offerings (Naivēttiyam) are forbidden in the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, their common occurrence in the cult of other (village-) deities makes them quite acceptable in public opinion as necessary in particular cases.

This has a bearing on the attitude of the Mantiravāti. He is not considered to be an irreligious man, rather a divine whose presence at public worship is a little incongruous. He has anyhow a tendency to keep aloof from public worship. Noteworthy is his demand to be alone in his room of worship. This will cause uneasiness in the mind of the public. One does not know what kind of powers he is in contact with, or what he is doing to direct them and control them. If his intentions are suspected to be evil, one will naturally think the worst.

Psychologically this will have a double effect; credulity and fear. The simple law expressed in the words: "Ignorance increases credulity" will have to be taken seriously and also in a good light. If the public were to know all that the Mantiravāti knows and does, they would turn their back on him. Knowledge is here ability. The Mantiravāti must consciously or unconsciously play up to that rule.

Mutatis mutandis this holds good for the temples as well. If the temples had nothing of awe-inspiring secrecy, people would feel disappointed and left to themselves in an empty place.

This has a deep connection. The client comes to the Mantiravāti when he is at his wit's end. He has tried to come out of his difficulty by all ways known to him. He has tried his own strength, he has gone to the doctor but to no avail. His tormented soul is refusing to accept this limitation and has a craving for unknown

possibilities. He therefore goes to the temple, on pilgrimage or to the Mantiravāti. The unknown world, with which he in this way comes in contact, gives him a new chance, which he is reluctant to lose.

Accordingly everything in the Mantiravāti's performance aims at giving an impression of something extraordinary, secret or uncanny being at work. If it is simply a pious fraud with the Mantiravāti, people will gradually see through it and desert him. In Māntirīkam as in temple cult nobody trusts man as such. This does not mean that there are no deceivers. Perhaps even the Indian peasant will say that they form the majority among the Mantiravātis, but unless they pretend and to a certain extent give themselves up to the supernatural, their trade will not prosper. When a Mantiravāti comes to the stage when he considers himself a master over the mysterious powers, he is rapidly developing into a conjurer (unless he becomes a divine person and verily an agent of supernatural power), and loses his influence over people. — Māntirīkam is of a "religious" character, and the clientele form a corrective, so that the 'wizard' does not come outside the atmosphere of awe. They believe in him only as far as the mysterious powers, which he to a certain extent controls, are mysterious — awe-inspiring — to him also. Without "religion" there is no "magic".

As a rule the Mantiravāti is quite willing to accept this condition. There is, as van der Leeuw puts it, "a desire to draw power into one's life."[1] It is not so much fused into one's own person, as it is stored up in objects, as the Poison King did with his little silverspear. This also has a bearing on the attitude. The Mantiravāti of today seems to be more conscious of his dependence on another power and seemingly less overbearing than the irascible sages of old, a Viśvāmitra or a Durvāsa, who cursed both men and gods.

There is also, as Hartland has pointed out[2], at least one thing of which the 'wizard' is really afraid, and that is another more powerful 'wizard'. However much he knows to control the powers, he never knows all there is to know. He may make a slip or somebody else may know more. That makes his trade uncanny and dangerous, and it prevents him from being too bold.

The Mantiravāti may be far from the ideal religious type of

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[1] van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, 679.
[2] Hartland, Ritual and Belief, 73.

submission and humility, but his mind is not altogether devoid of such qualities. The overbearing attitude is, on the other hand, not represented by the Mantiravāti only but also by the temple officiants. The latter group is not free from the old tradition which places the gods in the hands of the Brāhmans[1] any more than the Mantiravāti who says he can force the gods.

This point of attitude was not much stressed in Goode's list of aids of distinction and perhaps for good reasons. Overbearing, self-asserting as well as humble are words of valuation rather than of observation. Differentiation of feelings is not in line with objective investigation, and this distinction between two attitudes, kept separate with the terms magic and religion, may finally become a matter of theology and ethics.[2] The fundamental question of supremacy for man or God cannot be an object of unprejudical research, and yet it may hold the solution. A declaration that an overbearing attitude is magic and a submissive attitude is religion is useful as a guiding light, but it cannot be followed up to a final classification, because nobody will be able to decide in a given case, quite objectively, which is which. For example the statement: "I am Brahman" represents the overbearing attitude to a maximal degree, but "not by reasoning is this apprehension attainable, but ... taught by another". "Mere reason unassisted by faith cannot lead to illumination"[3]. Apart from the obvious difficulty in assigning this concept its right place, the word magic would certainly be objected to as a classifying term. An analysis based on a particular concept of God may, however, yield a clear distinction as result.

A similar difficulty rests with the other main alley of distinction social—antisocial. Rites can be performed with a view to bringing about evil, causing damage or achieving something good. But good and evil do not coincide with social and antisocial. An intention to do harm to the enemies may be in the interest of society, and a criminal making good his escape by means of magic performs an act detrimen-

[1] Tuxen, Brahmanisme, Jainisme og Buddhisme in Illustreret Religionshistorie, 548.

[2] Eskeröd, Årets äring, 50.

[3] Kaṭha Upaniṣad, I, 2, 9. See S. Radhakrishnan, The principal Upaniṣads, 611.

tal to the interests of society. There is finally only a majority vote to decide which is social and which is antisocial. An absolute distinction is reached only on the ethical plane, where principles, and not numbers decide the issue.

India presents a different case from the Christian West, in that it knows no devil. On account of its predominantly monistic thinking Hinduism does not draw a sharp line between good and evil. The powers drawn upon in the temples and by the Mantiravāti are capable of healing as well as of destruction. Common philosophy, dominated by Vedānta, places reality beyond the distinction between good and evil and counts on principle only with shades and degrees, not with any absolute contrast.[1]

When a man in the West celebrates the Black mass[2], he is in contact with the devil and thereby out and out antisocial. In India even the Pillicūṇiyakāraṇ (performer of black magic) deals with recognized deities and divine power. He is, of course, hated for his evil acts but not anathematized, since there is no outside region where he could be placed.

g. SUMMARY OF THE POLAR-IDEAL TYPE TEST

As a result of his exposition of the 'theoretical aids in distinguishing' magic from religion Goode writes: "Such a set of ideal typical criteria is sufficient to set apart the extreme poles, and it seems likely that a given magical or religious complex will fall fairly definitely toward one pole or the other although, of course, no such concrete complex will be found exactly at either extreme".[3]

Leaving alone the fallacy in speaking of a 'given magical or religious complex' before it has been put to the test whereby its character of being magical or religious is to be decided, one can as

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[1] The statement need not be expanded here. The laws of Karma and Saṃsāra build on moral relativism. Final release is not due to moral excellence but to knowledge. — Some light is thrown on this point by Dasgupta (A history of Indian philosophy, 2 ff) when dealing with the concept of Dharma. These words are particularily noteworthy: "It is, however, a relief to find that in some of the later Smṛtis the notion of Dharma was extended to morality in general and to some of the cardinal virtues".

[2] The Mass of Saint Sécair (Frazer, The Golden Bough, I, 232—233.)

[3] Goode, Magic and Religion, 178.

far as the material from South India is concerned have serious doubts about the usefulness of the two terms.

The aids are helpful and form a fairly complete and accurate summary of the discussion, but when now a complex of material is brought to test, it is found to swing backward and forward between the two poles instead of keeping steadily to the one or the other.

If we take the material as comprising the following groups of rites: temple rites, home rites and Māntirīkam rites and number them I, II, III and use "a" for the religious pole and "b" for the magic pole, we arrive at the following tabulation of Goode's eleven aids.

Figures within brackets mean that the complex is applicable in parts only.

	I	II	III
1	ab	b	b
2	ab	ab	(a)b
3	b	ab	b
4	ab	b	b
5	ab	b	b
6	ab	a	b
7	ab	b	a
8	a(b)	a(b)	(b)
9	ab	a(b)	b
10	a(b)	a	(a)b
11	ab	ab	(a)b

The tabulation is built on the analysis made on the preceding pages. It shows a preponderance of magic tendencies with Māntirīkam as could be expected. More remarkable is the prevalence of magic tendencies in the temple rites. Not one of the tests has been found inapplicable in the temples, whereas home rites are sometimes exclusively magic, sometimes exclusively religious.

The tabulation does not follow rigidly fixed lines of demarcation any more than the list of types presented by Goode. A certain amount of arbitrariness in judgement is unavoidable. In a survey of rituals a gradual shifting of emphasis is noticable. At a certain point one has the feeling — hardly more — that the rites show a preponderance of magic characteristics, and at another point that they lean towards the religious pole. That much is, however, clear from the

analysis that the lines often run criss-cross. It is for this reason unsatisfactory to use the words magic and religion as distinguishing terms. A given set of rites has sometimes its appropriate place in this compartment and sometimes in the other.

Psychology and sociology, as indicated by Goode, will be able to register data of interaction and interrelation of the various elements but will not aim at establishing a difference on principle. It may use the approximate distinction as a tool but readily throw it away if "at a deeper level of social analysis ... this distinction becomes a side issue, stemming from more basic differences of degree and kind in analytic variables".[1]

h. FINAL REMARKS

History of religion may still discern fundamental differences. A distinction based on the concepts of the supernatural or the third factor was indicated in the beginning of this chapter and also how it really originated in differences in man's attitude. Thereby its practical use is much reduced considering the difficulty to find objective grounds for a judgement on attitude. The rites as such can not in any way be classified on that ground.

The matter of dividing the complex of rites into separate entities is not closed. The material from South India is readily divided into three groups: temple rites, home rites and Māntirīkam. This division is neither complete nor fundamental but not without good, practical reasons. It is chiefly made on the ground of location, i.e. the temple, the home and the Mantiravāti's consultation room. These three places have in people's minds definite connotations of their own. The performers are for the most part different categories of people. The localities vary rather much in atmosphere. Certain conventions of behaviour apply, different in each case. Each of the three places has its own significance in the life of the people, and they are not mixed up in their experience. This is no division on principle but a workable classification. Now it may be suggested that Māntirīkam with its effective practices of healing etc. be styled as magic, but that would imply that the word magic is used on the basis of the location of rites. A definition on principle is thereby not arrived at.

[1] Goode, op. cit. 182.

The collection of rites presented has been placed under scrutiny with a view of finding out how far they can be qualified as instruments and to what extent they serve a purpose.

These characteristics need not eo ipso qualify a rite as religious or magic, unless magic is defined as instrumental in character. If so, magic comprises a large portion of the rituals followed in South India. Magic will then be an attribute attached to rites in temples and at home as well as Māntirīkam rites. This is objectionable because of the depreciatory effect of the word magic. It is also unnecessary, because the word instrumental is more clearly defined than the word magic and has a more direct bearing on the character of the rites. It is more satisfactory to qualify them as instrumental.

Although it can be said of all rites that they can be instruments. they need not be and are not always correctly qualified as such. There is room for the use of rites as expressions of an emotion, when the intentional character is weak or absent. There may be reasons sometimes to qualify them as play[1] as for examples the festivals, but more often they are better called just occupations to meet a need in man created by feelings of urge or obligation.[2]

These statements refer to the material found in South India and need not necessarily carry generalization.

As a negative result of the scrutiny it follows that viewed from these aspects the material does not fall into two compartments which can be labelled magic and religion. As has been shown above there are other grounds for distinction between the rites such as their location and the attitude of the performer, but it is not within the purview of this investigation to do more than indicate them.

It might be logically concluded that all acts which have reference to a third factor can become instruments. This would leave two poles where the problem of magic and religion ceases to exist: on the side of man, an inactive mystic contemplation and on the side of God, pure grace. In both cases all acts are dispensed with. In the intermediary sphere of action the instrumental character looms large.

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[1] Jensen, Mythos und Kult, 405.

[2] A complete understanding of the rituals can be had only from a thorough acquaintance with Indian life and thinking as a whole. The temple ritual has reference to all possible aspects of Indian experience and experiments. Of importance for the understanding from this point of view of the Śaiva temple ritual are Zieseniss, Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus and Meinhard, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Śivaismus nach den Purāṇas.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona.
AC, Apitāṉa Cintāmaṇi by A. Cinkaravelu Mutaliyār. Madras 1934.
Agh, Ākoracivacariyar Śrī Parārtta Nittiya Pūjāviti. Devakottai 1930.
ApG, Āpastamba-Gṛhya-Sūtra.
APTE, Apte, V. S., Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Bombay 1924.
AV, Atharva Veda.
BSO(A)S, Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.
EB, Encyclopædia Britannica 1946.
ERE, Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics ed. by J. Hastings. Edinburgh 1925.
F, A dictionary Tamil and English based on Johann Philip Fabricius "Malabar-English dictionary." 3:rd ed. Tranquebar 1933.
IA, Indian Antiquary. Bombay 1872—1921.
IC, Indian Culture. Calcutta 1934 ff.
IHQ, The Indian Historical Quarterly. Calcutta.
JA, Journal Asiatique, Paris
JAOS, Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut.
JBHU, Journal of the Benares Hindu University.
JRAS, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
MW, Monier-Williams, M., A Sanskrit-English dictionary. Oxford 1899.
NIA, New Indian Antiquary. Bombay.
PKT, Prakrit.
QJMS, The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Bangalore.
Rg, (RV), Ṛg Veda.
RHR, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
SBE, The Sacred books of the East.
ŚBr, Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.
TC, Tamil Culture. Madras 1951 ff.
TL, Tamil Lexicon. Madras 1924.
TS, Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
VKAW, Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Amsterdam.
W, A comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary by M. Winslow. Madras 1862.
WZKM, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDMG/NF, Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Neue Folge.
I, see p. 279.
II, see p. 283.
III, see p. 304.
IV, see p. 305.
V, see p. 310.
VI, see p. 311.
VII, see p. 314.
VIII, see p. 316.

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p. 73, note 1 for Vittyā read Vittiyā
p. 99, l. 19 for Hōman read Hōmam
p. 101, note 3 for (add.) read (ad 1.)
p. 126, l. 9 for Goddess read goddess
p. 133 line 11 shall end in ai-
p. 135, note 1, l. 2 for V, vol. 11 read V, p. 11
p. 143, l. 2 for Ksētra read Kṣētram
p. 169, note 2, l. 11 for Citraa read Citrā
p. 188, l. 12 for particularily read particularly
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The diacritical marks have been found wrong or defective in the following places:

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